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E MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET



JULLETIN 28

STOCKHOLM 1993

THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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Ein Frauensarg des frühen Mittleren Reiches

Beate George

Der heutige Zustand und die Konstruktion des Sarges

Im Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm befindet sich ein rechteckiger Holzsarg, MM 11399, der 1935 von dem Kronprinzen, später König Gustaf VI Adolf aus den Beständen der Sakkara-Magazine erworben wurde (Abb. 1). Die Sargeigentümerin ist an fünf Stellen im Text namentlich genannt, sie heisst *s3.t h̄m.t (nw.t)*, Dritte Tochter. Drei weitere Gegenstände mit diesem Namen scheinen bekannt zu sein¹. Abgesehen von den Texten – einer waagerechten Inschriftzeile auf jeder der vier Seiten der Sargwanne und dazu einem Paar *wd3.t* Augen auf der einen Langseite sowie einer Zeile in der Mitte des Deckels – ist der Sarg undekoriert. Seine Länge beträgt 187,5–188 cm, die Breite 41,5–42 cm, die Höhe ohne Deckel 41,5–43,5 cm und die Dicke des Deckels 5,2–5,5 cm, so dass die Gesamthöhe also zwischen 46,7 und 49 cm variiert. Die Innenmasse der Sargwanne sind: Länge ca 179 cm, Breite 33–33,5 cm, Tiefe ca 39 cm. Die zwei Querleisten an der Unterseite

des Deckels sind 32 cm lang. Diese Ziffern erweisen, dass es sich um einen die Mumie direkt umschliessenden Sarg handelt; für einen äusseren Sarg sind die Dimensionen zu gering. Doppelsärge aus Holz sind selten im Alten Reich, aber häufiger im Mittleren Reich².

Der Stockholmer Sarg ist 1937 restauriert worden: der Boden und die unterste Planke am Kopfende sind neu. Kleinere Schäden befinden sich noch unten in den Langseiten zum Kopfende hin. Der rechteckige Deckel besteht an der Aussenseite aus vier langen parallelen, unregelmässig breiten Planken. Ein Stück fehlt am Fussende der vierten Planke, wo sie an die dritte anschliesst. Ziernlich genau in der Mitte der Breite des Deckels, auf der zweiten und dritten Planke, befindet sich eine 5,5 cm breite Inschriftzeile, die am Kopfende beginnt und bei den Füssen endet. Nach den Jahresringen der Holzplanken zu schliessen, die am Kopf- und Fussende des Deckels deutlich zu sehen sind, handelt es sich bei den zwei mittleren Brettern um halbe Baumstämme, die am Kopfende je 13 cm, am Fussende 11 bzw. 15 cm Durchmesser haben (Abb. 2–3). Die

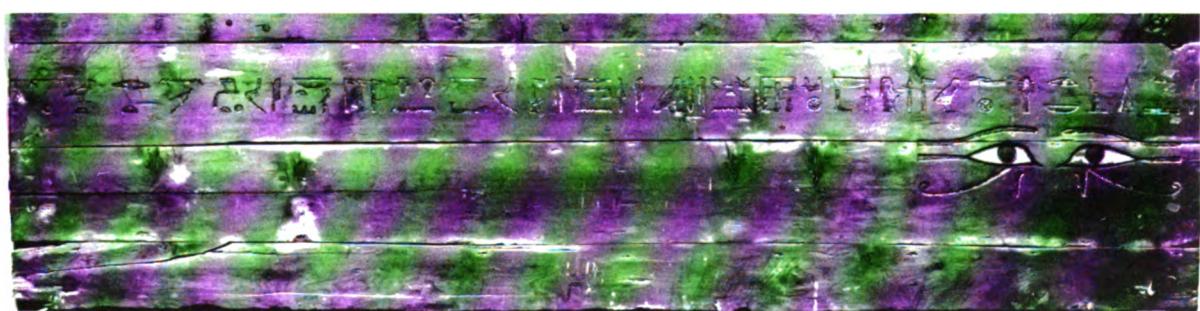


Abb. 1. Der Frauensarg MM 11399.

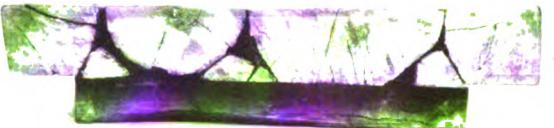


Abb. 2. Der Deckel am Kopfende mit den Querschnitten der Baumstämme.

ebene Seite mit dem Durchmesser bildet die Oberfläche des Deckels. Die Rundung an der Unterseite ist abgesägt, so dass eine schmalere gerade Fläche entsteht. Die zwei äusseren Bretter des Sargdeckels sind entsprechend zurechtgesägte Viertel von Baumstämmen. An der Unterseite des Deckels sind in die Zwischenräume zwischen diesen vier Planken drei unregelmässig lange und breite Füll-Leisten eingefügt, so dass auch die Unterseite eine ebene Fläche bildet.

Ungefähr 5 cm vom Kopf- und Fussende entfernt ist an der Unterseite des Deckels je eine Querleiste von 32 cm Länge angebracht (Abb. 4). Diese Leisten verhindern ein Verrutschen des Deckels. Die Querleiste am Kopfende ist mit drei, die am Fussende mit vier Dübeln senkrecht im Deckel verzapft. Auch die oben beschriebenen Planken des Deckels sind miteinander verzapft: die vier Hauptplanken an der Oberseite durch waagerechte Dübel, während für den Zusammenhalt mit den

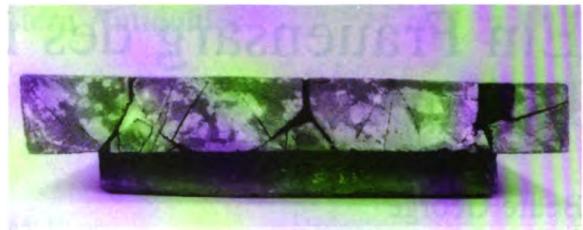


Abb. 3. Der Deckel am Fussende.

Füll-Leisten senkrechte Dübel sorgen. Reste von senkrechten Zapfen im Deckel haben ihre Entsprechung in Löchern in den Ecken der Sargwände: so war der Deckel für das Begräbnis auf der Sargwanne befestigt.

Die vier Wände der Sargwanne sind alle unterschiedlich konstruiert. Die Langseite, die an der Aussenfläche die *wd3.t-Augen* trägt, besteht aus drei langen Brettern von ca 4,5 cm Dicke, die zusammen 42 cm hoch sind, nämlich einzeln von oben nach unten 16 cm, 15 cm und 11 cm. Die Inschrift befindet sich auf dem obersten Brett, etwa 5–5,5 cm von der oberen Kante entfernt. Die *wd3.t-Augen* darunter sind hauptsächlich auf dem zweiten Brett angebracht. Alle drei Bretter werden durch senkrechte Dübel zusammengehalten. An der Innenseite sind stellenweise Füll-Leisten eingefügt.

Die andere Langseite besteht aus vier Brettern, auch hier mit Füll-Leisten an der Innenseite. Die Gesamthöhe dieser Seite variiert von 41,5 bis 42 cm, und die

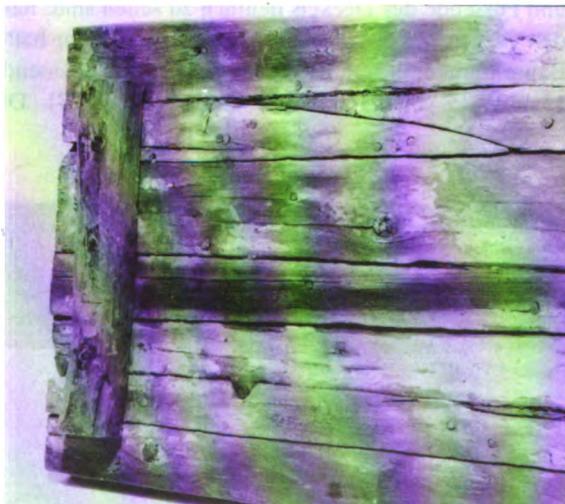


Abb. 4. Unterseite des Deckels mit Querleisten.



Höhe der einzelnen Bretter ist sehr unterschiedlich, von oben nach unten z.B. 4,2 cm, 14,6 cm, 15,4 cm und 7,3 cm. Die Inschriftzeile, die auch diese Wand trägt, steht auf dem zweiten Brett von oben, 5,5 cm von der Kante entfernt.

Die Kopfseite besteht heute nur aus zwei Brettern, einem unteren von 21,5 cm Höhe, das 1937 bei der Restaurierung eingesetzt wurde, und einem oberen von 21 cm Höhe, durch das ein tiefer horizontaler Sprung verläuft. Die Gesamthöhe ist, da die Bretter nicht dicht aneinander gefügt sind, 43 cm. Die Dicke des oberen originalen Brettes beträgt ca 4,5 cm. Nach Zapfen und Sprüngen an der Innenseite zu schliessen, ist es aus mindestens zwei Schichten zusammengefügt. Die waagerechte Inschriftzeile ist 5–5,5 cm von der oberen Kante entfernt.

Die Fusswand besteht aus drei Brettern übereinander, die von oben nach unten ca 14 cm, 15,5 cm und 14 cm hoch sind, zusammen also ca 43,5 cm. Die Dicke ist auch hier 4,5 cm, und an der oberen Kante und der Innenseite sieht man, dass diese Wand aus zwei Schichten Holz zusammengefügt ist. Die waagerechte Inschrift ist auch hier 5–5,5 cm unterhalb der oberen Kante angebracht.

An den vier Ecken der Sargwanne sind die Bretter innen abgeschrägt. Die zwei schrägen Flächen, die in jeder Ecke aufeinander treffen, werden durch mehrere horizontale Dübel in verschiedener Höhe zusammengehalten. Nur an der oberen Kante der Sargwanne sind die Enden der Längswände nicht abgeschrägt, sondern in einer Höhe von 1,3–2,5 cm stehen gelassen. An entsprechender Stelle sind die oberen Kanten der Kurzwände abgesägt, um ein Aufliegen der Endstücke der Längswände zu ermöglichen (Abb. 5). Da der Sargboden aus dem Jahre 1937 stammt, ist er für die ursprüngliche Konstruktion irrelevant.

Reste von hellem Stuck finden sich an verschiedenen Stellen der Sargwände sowohl innen als auch aussen. Ob es sich dabei um Überbleibsel eines ursprünglichen Überzuges des gesamten Sarges oder nur um Ausbesserungen in der unebenen Oberfläche handelt, ist schwer zu sagen. Ein dunkelbrauner Holzsarg mit einzelnen hellen Flecken scheint kaum wahrscheinlich zu sein. Die Hieroglyphen und die *wd3.t*-Augen sind versenkt gearbeitet und mit heute vielerorts abgeblätterter Farbe ausgelegt. Grün ist die dominierende Nuance, bei den Augen kommt außerdem schwarz für die Pupille und weiss für den Augapfel vor (Abb. 6).

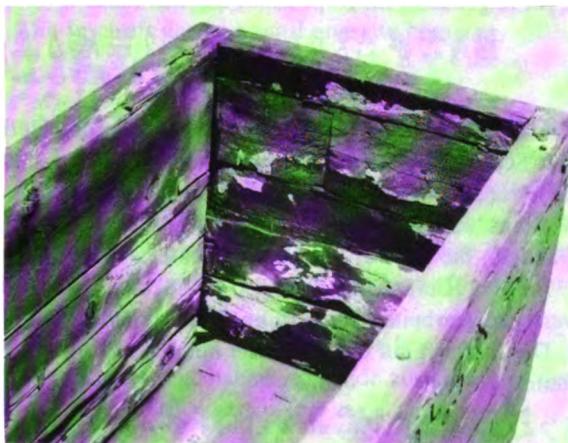
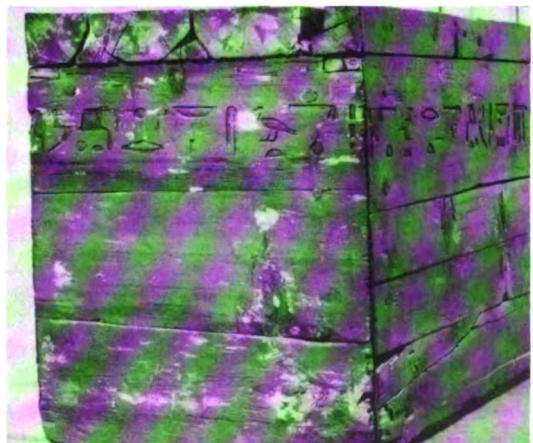
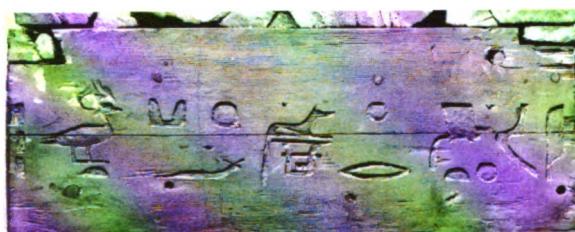
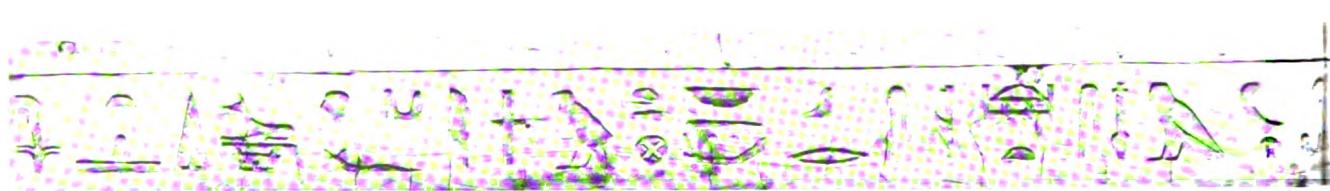
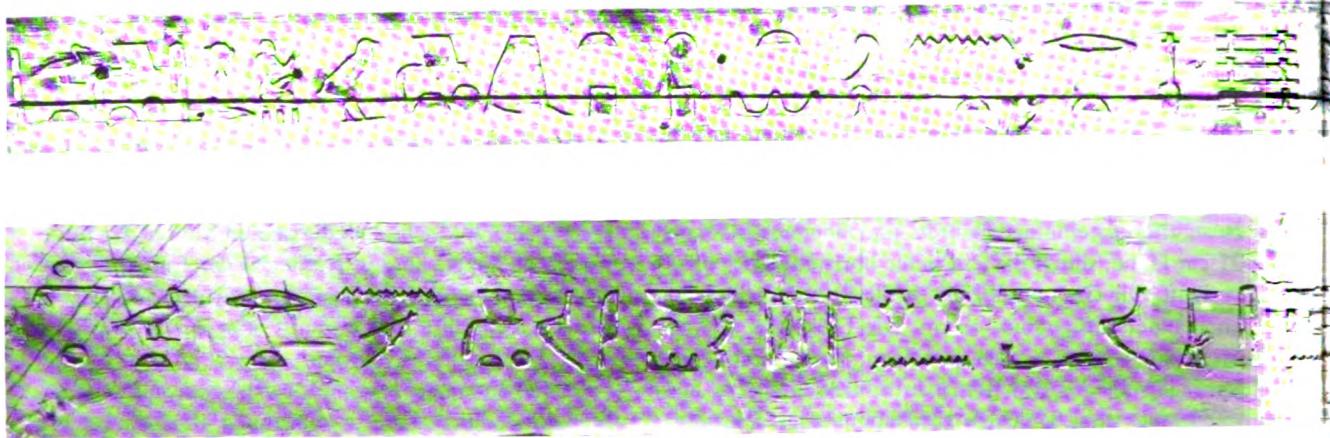


Abb. 5. Konstruktion der Ecken der Sargwanne.





Die Inschriften

Die Hieroglyphenzeilen sind alle ungefähr 5,5 cm hoch. Deckel und Langseiten enthalten Opferformeln und -gebete, die am Kopfende beginnen. Auf dem Deckel steht folgendes vom Kopf zum Fussende hin:

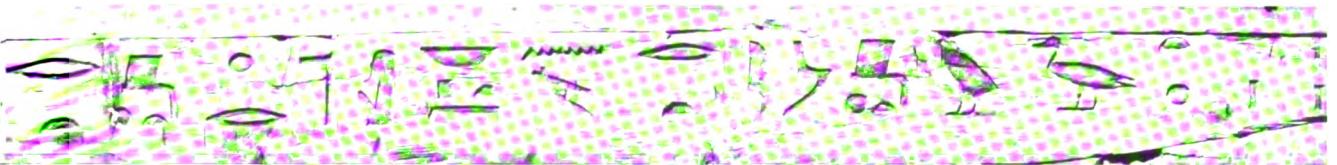
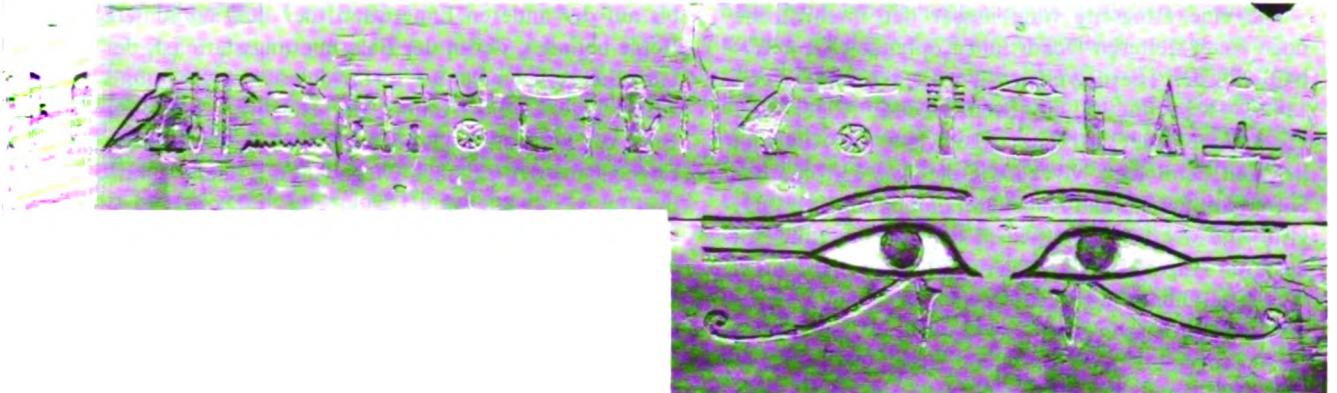
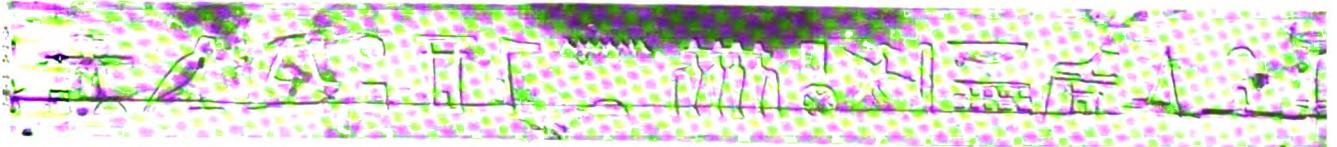
Ein Opfer, das der König gibt und Anubis, der Herr von Sepa, der erste der Gotteshalle, dass er (*sic*, statt sie) wandelt in Frieden auf den schönen Wegen des Westens, auf denen (lies *sn* anstatt *s*) die Ehrwürdigen wandeln, die Ehrwürdige Dritte Tochter.

Bei der Hieroglyphe & ist der rechte Arm nicht versenkt gearbeitet, sondern nur in Farbe angegeben.

Die Inschrift auf der Langseite mit den *wd3.t*-Augen lautet:

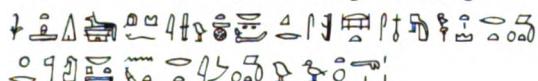
၁၇၈၂ ခုနှစ်၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငြပ်၏ ပေးပို့သွေးချေး၏ အတွက် ၁၇၈၃ ခုနှစ်၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငြပ်၏ ပေးပို့သွေးချေး၏ အတွက်

Abb. 6. *wd3.t*-Augen und Hieroglyphen.



Ein Opfer, das der König gibt und Osiris, der Herr von Busiris, der grosse Gott, der Herr von Abydos, ein Totenopfer von Brot und Bier, Rindern und Vögeln für die, die vollkommen ist in ihrem Grab der Nekropole, wahr inmitten aller Götter des Westens, und die geehrt ist an Liebe Dritte Tochter.

Die Inschrift der anderen Langseite besagt:



Ein Opfer, das der König gibt und Anubis, der sich auf seinem Berg befindet, der in der Balsamierungsstätte ist, der Herr des Heiligen Landes, nämlich ihr schönes Begräbnis im Westen für (?) die Ehrwürdige bei dem Gott, dem Herrn des Himmels, aus Liebe für die Ehrwürdige Dritte Tochter.

Eins der *t* in *mrw.t* ist nur aufgemalt.

Die Kurzseiten haben folgende Inschriften, das Kopfende:



Die Ehrwürdige bei Anubis, der sich auf seinem Berge

befindet, Dritte Tochter.

Das Fussende:



Die Ehrwürdige bei ihrem Herrn Dritte Tochter.

Mit dem »Herrn« könnte der Grabbesitzer gemeint sein³. Das würde also bedeuten, dass Sat chemet im Grabe eines männlichen Anverwandten, z.B. ihres Mannes beigesetzt worden ist, was ja nichts Ungewöhnliches wäre.

Der Name der Sargbesitzerin ist unter Rankes ägyptischen Personennamen nicht belegt. Er kommt in der Schreibung ⲥ ⲥ | auf beiden Langseiten und am Fussende vor, ansonsten am Kopfende und auf dem Dekkel in der Schreibung ⲥ|. Doch gibt es eine kleine Gruppe von Namen im Alten und im Mittleren Reich, die aus substantivierten Ordinalzahlen besteht. Danach scheint diese Art von Namen nicht mehr in Gebrauch gewesen zu sein. *t3 hm.t (nw.t)* – die Dritte ist aus dem Mittleren Reich bekannt⁴. Es ist klar, dass ein Name wie die Dritte bzw. Dritte Tochter die Stellung unter

den Kindern einer Familie angibt, wie das z.B. auch in China üblich ist. Die Schreibung mit nur drei Strichen | auf dem Deckel und am Kopfende des Sarges spricht für die Lesung *hm.t*. Nach den übrigen Schreibungen auf den Langseiten und am Fussende könnte man auch an *s3.t mtnw* bzw. *mtnw* denken, was die Tochter des *mtnw*, eines göttlichen Wesens, bedeuten würde⁵.

Die eine Langseite trägt ausser der Inschriftzeile noch einen weiteren Dekor: am Kopfende sitzt unterhalb von den Hieroglyphen ein *wd3.t*-Augenpaar von 11 cm Höhe und 41 cm Breite. Diese Augen sind ebenfalls versenkt gearbeitet. Das Weisse der Augäpfel liegt auf demselben Niveau wie die Aussenfläche der Sargwand. Pupille und Augenumrandung sind schwarz, grün sind der Schminkstrich in der Verlängerung des äusseren Augenwinkels, die Augenbrauen und die Linien unterhalb des Auges, die vom Falkenauge hergeleitet zu werden pflegen.

Die Augen erlauben verschiedene einander komplementierende Deutungen⁶. Die häufigste ist, dass sie dem Toten, der in dem engen Sarge auf der Seite lag, ermöglichen, hinauszublicken und an Totenkult und Opfergaben teilzuhaben. Man kann auch annehmen, dass die Blickrichtung nach Osten Teilhabe am Sonnenaufgang andeuten soll, der die zyklische Erneuerung des Sonnengottes und in seiner Nachfolge auch des Toten symbolisiert. Anstelle der Augen des Toten bzw. einer Öffnung für sie könnten aber auch die beiden Horusaugen gemeint sein. Da zwei abgebildet sind, kann man an die Horusaugen als Tages- und Nachtsonne in ständigem Wandel und ständiger Erneuerung denken. Ausserdem kann auch die apotropäische Funktion der »heilen« Augen impliziert sein, die dem toten Osiris und allen anderen Toten zur Bewahrung und Erneuerung als Opfer par excellence dargebracht werden. So ist die komplexe Symbolik des Augenpaars fast unerschöpflich.

Die Opferformel, die im ganzen dreimal, verknüpft mit verschiedenen Bitten, auf dem Sarge erscheint, ist im Laufe der Zeit Gegenstand umfangreicher ägyptologischer Untersuchungen und fast unglaublich divergierender Übersetzungen geworden⁷.

Die Inschriften auf dem Sarg der Sat chemet stimmen mit dem Schema überein, das für die 9.-10. Dynastie als typisch festgestellt worden ist⁸: die Götterformeln sind anders verteilt als im Alten Reich, Osiris ist nämlich nun auf der »östlichen« linken Langseite mit den Augen genannt, Anubis auf der »westlichen« rechten und auf dem Deckel. Beide Götter haben ihre geläufigsten Epitheta: Anubis heisst – wie üblich – *nb sp3 hntj sh ntr*

(in dieser Reihenfolge auf unserem Sarg) bzw. *tpj dw.f jmj w.t nb t3 dsr* auf der westlichen Längswand. Osiris ist *nb ddw*, dann *ntr*⁹ statt des noch häufigeren *hntj jmn.tjw* und schliesslich *nb 3bdw*. Auch die Verteilung der Bitten in den drei Opferformeln folgt einem sonst vorkommenden Schema: um das Totenopfer *pr.t hrw* wird Osiris auf der östlichen Langseite gebeten⁹. Anubis auf der anderen Längswand, der sich auf seinem Berge befindet, der in der Balsamierungsstätte ist, der Herr des heiligen Landes ist für das schöne Begräbnis zuständig, während Anubis, der Herr von Sepa, der Erste der Gotteshalle auf dem Deckel das Wandeln in Frieden auf den schönen Wegen des Westens garantiert¹⁰.

Weiterhin können die Bitten ihrem Inhalt nach in drei Gruppen eingeteilt werden¹¹: solche fürs Diesseits, solche fürs Begräbnis und solche fürs Jenseits. Dabei kommen gewisse Überschneidungen vor, wie z.B. bei der Bitte, *jm3j* zu sein¹²: das geehrt, ehrwürdig oder angesehen sein beruht sicherlich zum Teil auf der sozialen Stellung zu Lebzeiten, es impliziert aber auch eine Sicherstellung der Befriedigung der Bedürfnisse im Jenseits. So wendet sich Sat chemet in den Inschriften des Kopf- und Fussendes an Anubis auf seinem Berge bzw. an ihren Herrn. Die Bitte um ein schönes Begräbnis¹³ bezieht sich natürlich auf den Zwischenzustand zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits. Der Tod ist eine Umwandlung mit der Hoffnung auf Regeneration, die mit Hilfe genau vorgeschriebener Zeremonien und Riten garantiert wird. Unter dem Begräbnis ist der gesamte Bestattungsvorgang, vom Transport der Leiche aus der Wohnung auf dem Ostufer über Nilfahrt, Fahrt zur Nekropole, Balsamierung und Beisetzung im Grabe zu verstehen, ausserdem möglicherweise auch noch dramatische Aufführungen symbolischer Akte wie Reisen an heilige Stätten, Totengericht usw.

Doppeldeutig ist wiederum die Bitte, »auf den schönen Wegen des Westens in Frieden zu wandeln«¹⁴: teilweise ist *hpj* als dahingehen, sterben aufgefasst worden, was auf den Übergang vom Diesseits ins Jenseits anspielt. Andererseits können die schönen Wege des Westens als Lokalitäten im Jenseits aufgefasst werden, an denen der Mensch nach dem Tode sein Dasein zubringt und auf denen er immer wieder wandeln will.

Hauptsächlich auf die Existenz im Jenseits bezogen ist schliesslich die Bitte um Opfergaben¹⁵, die zum erstenmal beim Begräbnis zusammen mit der Rezitation der dazugehörigen Sprüche dargebracht werden. Für die dauernde Fortexistenz ist es dann notwendig, dass dieser Opferdienst ständig aufrecht erhalten

bleibt, wenn nicht in *natura*, so doch zumindest durch die Rezitation des Rituals oder wenigstens durch das magische Wirken des blosen Vorhandenseins solcher Inschriften, wie sie sich auf dem Sarg der Sat chemet befinden.

Die Idee des Opfers

Opfer spielen eine ungemein wichtige Rolle in der altägyptischen Religion. Opfern bedeutet Teilhabe am Zyklus des Gebens und Nehmens, von Essen und Ge-gessenwerden, von Leben und Tod, von Erneuerung des Lebens gerade aus seiner Hingabe und Opferung heraus.

Opferkult ist Wechselspiel und Interdependenz aller Teile der Schöpfung. Im Opferritual wird die Komplexität der Wirklichkeit in konzentrierter, wiederholbarer Weise zum Ausdruck gebracht. Opfer darzubringen und Opfer entgegenzunehmen ist eine aus der Natur abgeleitete Notwendigkeit, die die Schöpfung erhält und damit religiöse Bedeutung hat. Opfer darzubringen und Opfer zu empfangen ist aber auch Grundlage der Gesellschaft und des Zusammenlebens aller Wesen, nicht nur der auf Erden lebenden Menschen, sondern auch von Göttern und Verstorbenen, die nach ägyptischer Vorstellung alle Glieder in der Welt der Erscheinungen sind und nicht ohne einander existieren können.

Das Land Ägypten und seine Reichtümer – Steine, Metalle, Pflanzen, Tiere und die daraus hergestellten Produkte – sind dem König von den Göttern verliehen. Er ist ursprünglich der einzige Besitzer, der Teile dieses Besitzes weiterverleiht, z.B. an Beamte und an Tempel. Diese werden im Laufe der Geschichte zu Eigentümern durch Gewohnheitsrecht oder bestimmte juristische Akte. Auch Grabausrüstungen und Opferstiftungen sind Gaben des Königs. Wie etwa Beamte zu Lebzeiten Gäste der königlichen Tafel sind, so sind sie im Jenseits durch Opferstiftungen, durch »das Opfer, das der König gibt« mit Lebens-Mitteln versorgt.

Komplizierter wird die Sache in der Praxis durch die Institution des sogenannten »Opferumlaufs«. Dies ist die Weitergabe eines vom König einer Gottheit dargebrachten Opfers an einen oder mehrere andere Opfer-

empfänger von jeweils niedrigerem Rang, wobei die Verbraucher und Nutzniesser des Opfers zumeist die Priester des letzten Opferempfängers sind. Das erstaunliche System, Götter und Tote – nationalökonomisch sozusagen unproduktive Faktoren – im Prinzip in alle Ewigkeit mit Lebensmitteln zu versehen, ist also keine Verschwendug – wie etwa beim Brandopfer oder beim nordamerikanischen potlatsch – sondern kommt, nachdem das Opfer symbolisch von diesen ausserweltlichen Wesen genossen worden ist, wiederum den Lebenden zugute. Der Opferumlauf schliesst alle ein: an ihm nehmen Götter, Könige und Menschen teil, Lebende und Tote, vorhergehende und nachfolgende Generationen. Die Götter haben alles geschaffen und bekommen von den Menschen einen Teil ihrer Gaben zurück. Die Toten haben ihren Nachkommen das Leben gegeben und werden durch Opfer ihrerseits im Jenseits am Leben erhalten, von dem ausserdem schliesslich die Nachkommen selbst sich ernähren. Das Opfer ist Quintessenz des Wechselspiels, in dem die verschiedenen Kultteilnehmer bald als Gebende bald als Empfangende agieren. Beides – Geben wie Empfangen – sind zwei Aspekte desselben Geschehens, das alle Wesen in ständiger Verwandlung am Leben erhält. Alles lebt von allem, und alles nimmt an diesem Kreislauf teil.

Von hier aus kann man noch weitergehen: das vornehmste Opfer ist natürlich das Menschenopfer, aber nicht so sehr die blutige leibliche Tötung als vielmehr Selbstingabe, Hingabe des Herzens. Diese Hingabe wird als Gottes- und Menschendienst schon im Leben geübt, im Tode kommt noch die Hingabe und Verwandlung des Leibes hinzu. Der Mensch selbst ist das Opfer, der geopferte, sich opfernde Mensch, der wie das Samenkorn in die Erde sinkt und stirbt und erneuert wiederersteht, der wie der Korn Gott Neper nach dem Tode lebt. Durch Selbstingabe ist Verwandlung und Erneuerung möglich, Selbsterneuerung und – Verjüngung im Sinne von Wiedergeburt der eigenen Person, wie die Ägypter es sich wünschten.

Beate George
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Medelhavsmuseet

Abkürzungen

Barta

W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, Glückstadt 1968

Lapp

G. Lapp, *Die Opferformeln des Alten Reiches*, Mainz 1986

¹ Alle drei stammen aus Sakkara: PM III², 545: Fragment einer Scheintür; 546: Seitenstück einer Scheintür (? Name grösstenteils zerstört); 563: Scheintür; 766: unser Stockholmer Sarg. Ob es sich um verschiedene Frauen oder ein und dieselbe handelt, soll hier nicht untersucht werden.

² *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. Sarg (G. Lapp).

³ Lapp, 364,5.

⁴ Ranke PN I, 1935, 366,25.

⁵ Ranke (supra Anm. 4), 289, 17 und 18, sowie Wb II 176, 11. Weiter B. Peterson, 'Ausgewählte ägyptische Personennamen nebst prosopographischen Notizen aus Stockholmer Sammlungen', *OrSu* 19–20, 1970–71 (gedr. 1972), 5f.

⁶ A. M. Donadoni-Roveri, *I sarcofagi egizi dalle origine alla fine dell'Antico Regno*, Roma 1969, 89f. Von den zahlreichen Sargpublikationen sei noch H. Willems, *Chests of life*, Leiden 1988 erwähnt.

⁷ Barta; Lapp; J. J. Clère, 'Le fonctionnement grammatical de l'expression *pri hrw* en ancien égyptien', *Mélanges Maspero I*, Le Caire 1935–38, 753ff. sowie seine Artikel in *JEA* 25, 1939, 216 und *RdE* 11, 1957, 158f.

⁸ Barta, 35ff.

⁹ Barta, 38: Bitte 2; Lapp, § 1, 14, 17, 42ff., 137, 155, 163(4), 178, 207, 231–233.

¹⁰ Barta, 39: Bitte 12.

¹¹ Barta, 323ff.

¹² Barta, 303 und 323ff.: Bitte 11; Lapp, § 359ff., 364(5), 371ff., 380.

¹³ Barta, 325ff.: Bitte 4, Lapp, § 59, 60f., 64, 71, 79, 146ff., 352.

¹⁴ Barta, 325ff.: Lapp, § 18, 19, 20, 79ff., 81(9), 83(1), 92ff., 146ff.

¹⁵ Barta, 298ff., 327ff.

Kythrea Temenos

Unpublished Material from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Gloria Ikosi

in association with
Josef Riederer (petrographic study)
Anna Svärdh (analysis of pigments)

Introduction

The present article reports on the contents of 40 small ($32 \times 18 \times 8$ cm) boxes¹ with unpublished material from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The boxes were found to contain sculptures in stone, in terracotta, and pottery. Diagnostic sherds and the style of the statuary place the material in the Iron Age. For most of the datable artefacts an Archaic date can be suggested. The sculptures belong to types known from Iron Age sanctuaries; their predominance in the assemblage is indicative of a sanctuary.² The labeling on all boxes reads "Kythrea Temenos".

We were not able to locate any fieldwork records for Kythrea Temenos. In his letter of July 31, 1991, Alfred Westholm indicated that he had no recollection of a site which had been dug at Kythrea, other than the Chalcolithic village, which he dug himself.

According to the records of the Medelhavsmuseet, Einar Gjerstad applied on November 7, 1929 to the Colonial Secretary to carry out excavations on behalf of the Swedish Archaeological Society of Stockholm in the area of Ayios Demetrianos near the village of Kythrea. Permission was granted on October 21, 1930 for excavations to be carried out for a period of two years, commencing on October 21, 1930 and ending on October 20, 1932.

Earlier researchers placed the city of ancient Chyroi in the area of Ayios Demetrianos, half a mile west by south-west of the Cypriote village of Kythrea.³ The

area was well known for its wealth of archaeological material. Catling, who frequently visited the locality in 1958, described it as

conspicuous for its rich surface cover of potsherds and other objects, not to mention a litter of stone and terracotta roof-tiles from destroyed houses⁴

In the years 1869–1874 villagers were laboriously collecting antiquities, mostly sculptures and inscriptions of votive character, on behalf of Luigi Pablo di Cesnola in the vicinity of Ayios Demetrianos.⁵ The material came from two areas 500 yards apart: from Skali, a hill with natural steps (skali = step, in Greek),⁶ bordered by Skali-potamos, northwest of the church of Ayios Demetrianos; and from Katsourkas, another hill north of the church. It is not clear whether the two localities should be viewed as parts of a broader complex with perhaps chronological or functional distinctions, or whether they represent two independent entities. Their proximity might suggest the former; their topography the latter. The locality of Ayios Demetrianos was visited again in 1883 by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who carried out excavations at *Skali*.⁷

The area of investigation of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (Fig. 1) was specified as:

The area shown in red on the plan of the village lands of Kythrea attached hereto and marked A which area commences from the southwest corner of plot No. 81, plan No. XXII, 3-E, locality Ayios Demetrianos at the junction of roads and goes northeast along the road to Ayios Demetrianos church, to Skali-Potamos, thence northeast along the right bank of this potamos to the

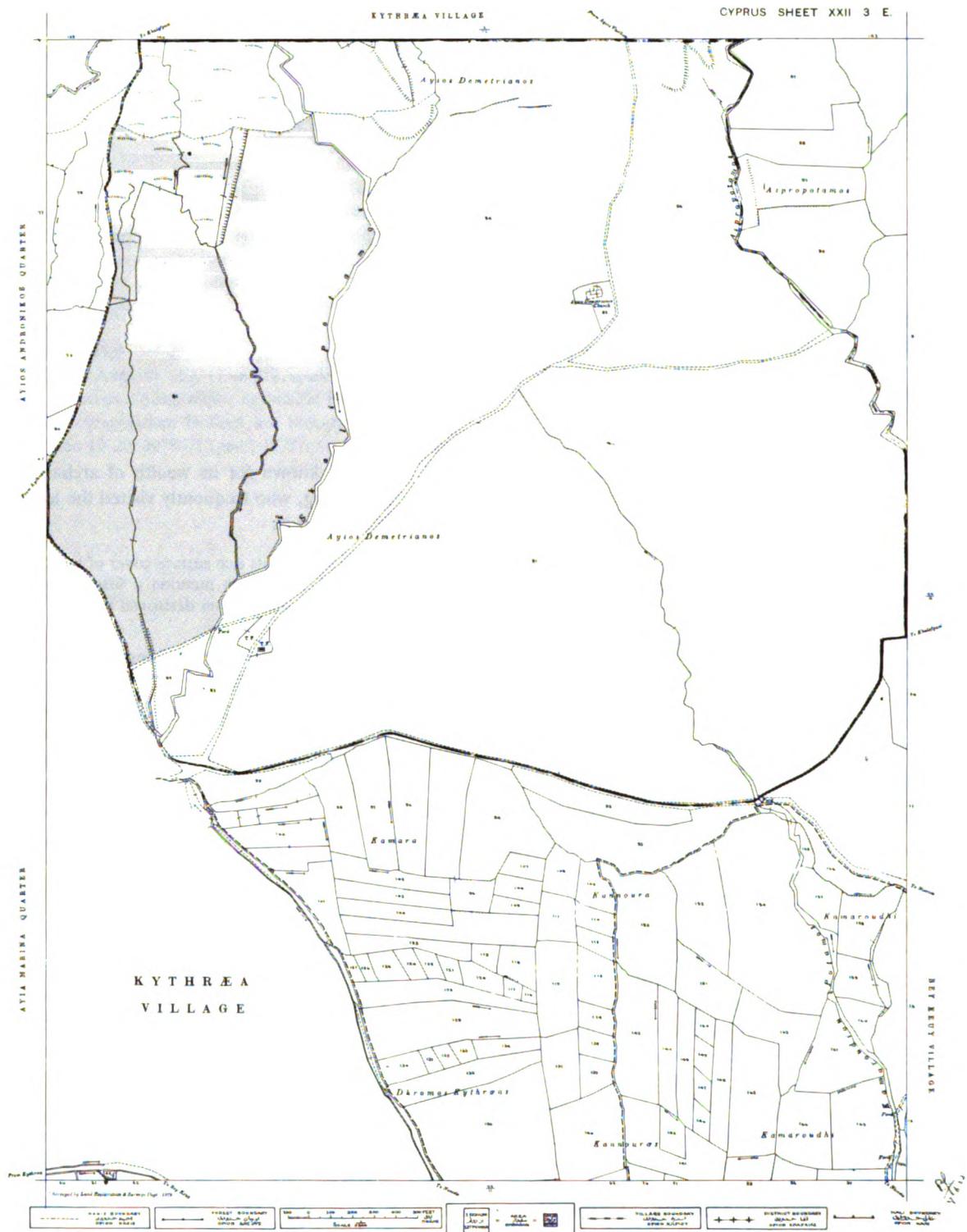


Fig. 1. Area of investigation specified in the permit.

footpath crossing this plot, thence west along the footpath to the road from Kythrea to Khalefarsi, thence southwest along the east side of this road to the starting point.⁸

Part of *Skali* was specified in the permit. *Skali*, as a toponym following Kythrea Temenos, was read on one of the boxes.⁹ It is, therefore, highly probable that the finds presented here came from *Skali*.^{9 bis}

There was no indication of any grid system/depth on the boxes. It is possible that the finds came from a favissa, or a votive dump, or from a well defined architectural unit. In these cases we would have expected the boxes to indicate the type of structure investigated and a depth for each object in compliance with the routine procedures of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, as we witness them in the excavation of other sites. The absence of more stratigraphic information suggests, in itself, that the material comes from an exploratory surface survey.

As Dr. Westholm explains in his correspondence (letter to Dr. Styrenius of July 31, 1991), Kythrea had attracted the attention of the Expedition because it was known from explorations of the 19th century to be rich in archaeological finds. The records of the Medelhavsmuseet show that on June 15, 1927 the Expedition was granted permission to carry out excavations at Bam-boula (Larnaca), at Kourion and at Kouklia. A major sanctuary site was clearly the target, as also stated explicitly by Gjerstad in *Ages and Days in Cyprus*.¹⁰ Kythrea was a natural choice: syllabic inscriptions from earlier explorations unequivocally attested to the presence of sanctuary sites.

Kythrea Temenos was only surveyed, probably by Gjerstad himself who, as Dr. Westholm informs me (letter of August 9, 1992), "must have walked hundreds and hundreds of miles" locating sites suitable for investigation and leaving the actual digging to Alfred Westholm and Erik Sjöqvist; or, as Dr. Westholm suggests (letter of July 31, 1991 to Dr. Styrenius), by Bakka-liaou, a notorious tomb looter, who worked for the Expedition and had been assigned to survey.¹¹ Plans for a scientific excavation at Kythrea Temenos by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were, for some reason, abandoned. In June 1930 Gjerstad and Westholm travelled to the north coast of the island in search for a site with votive sculptures;¹² this turned out to be Mersinaki, a temenos not previously explored.

Illicit digging continued fiercely in subsequent years at Kythrea *Skali*. Masson, who visited the site

with the late K. Nicolaou in 1960, reports scatters of sculptures on its surface.¹³ New syllabic inscriptions were the legacy of later visits.

Syllabic inscriptions associated with Kythrea

Twenty-six syllabic inscriptions come from Kythrea (*ICS 234–250d*), most of which appear to be of votive character (*Table 1*).¹⁴ They are inscribed on a variety of objects. The most frequently represented class is that of small portable limestone boxes, some of which had been exposed to fire and might had been used as incense-burners.¹⁵ Inscriptions on limestone boxes appear to be particular to Kythrea. The name of the goddess Paphia, which stands alone or is preceded by the word goddess, is read with confidence in fourteen of the texts and reconstructed with fair probability in another two. In one of the texts the dedication is to Paphia Aphrodite (*ICS 234*). The precise provenance of most of the syllabic texts is not known. Most of them are finds from the activities of Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter. Seven of the texts represent later finds from *Skali* itself: two are dedications to Hylates (*ICS 250–250a*); one to Paphia (*ICS 250b*); and one to Golgia (*ICS 250c*).

All texts have been irrevocably divorced from their archaeological contexts; their date has not been fixed more narrowly within the broad chronological span of the use of the Cypriote syllabary. *ICS 250a*, one of the inscriptions mentioning the name of Hylates, presents the only exception; in all likelihood, it is Hellenistic.¹⁶

Description and analysis of the new material

I. SCULPTURES

Most of the sculptures from Kythrea are executed in Archaic styles. A strict division along gender lines in religious communication characterizes the Archaic phase of Cypriote sanctuaries,¹⁷ which have produced almost exclusively either male or female statuary. Kythrea *Skali* conforms to this pattern. All sculptures from the site for which gender determination is possible are female, suggesting that the sanctuary was the focus of female cultic activity.

Table 1. Syllabic inscriptions from Kythrea. After ICS, 259–265, 416.

Inscription	Type of object	Transcription
ICS 234	stone box fr.	Πρωτότιμω ἡμὶ τᾶς Παφίας τῷ εἰρηνῇ ος, κάς μι κατέθηκε τᾶι Παφίαι 'Αφροδίται.
ICS 235	stone box fr.	Τᾶς [θεώ] τᾶς Πα[φίας ἡμί ·] αὐτάρ μι κατέθηκε] 'Ονασίθεμις.
ICS 236	stone box fr.	Τᾶς θεώ τᾶς [Παφίας ἡμί ·] α(ύ)τάρ μι [κατέθηκε 'Ονασί]θεμι[ς....].
ICS 237	stone box fr.	τᾶς Παφίας ἡμί[...]
ICS 238	stone box frr.	a. Ιτᾶς Παφίας[b. {τᾶς] Παφίας[a.] τᾶς Παφί[ας] b.] τᾶ(ς) Παφία[ς]
ICS 239	sherds	a.] Παφίας [b. τᾶς θε[ώ] c.] Παφία[
ICS 240	stone box frr.	'Ακεσά(ν)δρω. [Τᾶς] θεώ τᾶς Παφίγας ἡ [μί] · αὐτάρ με κατέθηκε [Α]κεστόθεμις.
ICS 241	stone block	Τᾶς θεώ ἡμὶ τᾶς Παφία[ς].
ICS 242	stone	Τᾶς θεώ ἡμὶ τᾶς Παφία[ς]] κατέθηκε Χαρίτιμος δ [.....] i(v) τύχαι.....
ICS 243	stone	[Τᾶς] θεώ ἡμὶ τᾶς Παφία[ς]] κατέθηκε Χαρίτιμος δ [.....] i(v) τύχαι.....
ICS 244	stone box fr.	[Τᾶς] θεώ ἡμὶ τᾶς Παφί[ας] · αὐτάρ με ἔFεξε [.....]θεμις i(v) τύχαι. Τᾶ(ς) ?..... ἡμὶ 'Ονασικ[ράτεος] ?.
ICS 245	stone box fr.	?]-ra-mi-so-no-se'
ICS 246*	stone fr.	a.] Fούκων [....
ICS 247*	stone fr.	b. ---] ἐποίει. (alphabetic text)
ICS 248	marble statue	Δαμαγόρω
ICS 249	sarcophagus	τᾶς Παφίγα[ς]...
ICS 249a	stone fr.	τῶ θεώ τῶ Υλάταν.
ICS 250*	bronze bowl	τῶ 'Υλάτω.
ICS 250a*	large ceramic plate	a. [τᾶς Πα]φίας ἡμὶ
ICS 250b*	stone box fr.	b. —
ICS 250c*	lid fr., pottery	τᾶς Γολγά[ς]
ICS 250d*	stone	—

* inscription specified to come from Skali. (ICS 242, 243 and 249a are listed as possibly coming from Kythrea.)

— obscure inscription or part thereof

() inserted elements

[] reconstructed text

A. Terracottas

Both small and large-scale sculptures have been found.

1. SMALL-SCALE TERRACOTTAS

Typology and chronology

Almost all small-scale terracottas were cast in frontal molds. They represent females in a strictly frontal position, dressed, in most cases, in a long, non-pleated garment which clings to the body so that its contours can be read clearly; when complete, they cannot stand on their own.

Terracottas of this generalized type are primarily executed in different variants of the Neo-Cypriote style.

The evidence at hand gives no information as to the upper or lower limits for the chronology of the type. We know for certain that it was current in the Archaic period thanks to finds from stratified contexts outside Cyprus, primarily at the Heraion on Samos.¹⁸

On Cyprus, only a handful of figurines have been found in chronological contexts. These are:

- Terracotta 1752 from Ajia Irini, an iconographic anomaly for the site. From a CAI-CAII stratum.¹⁹
- Terracottas 40 and 60 from the Iron Age sanctuary at Ajios Iakovos. From mixed layers of Bronze Age and Geometric pottery.²⁰
- Terracotta 682 from Campanopetra. From the Archaic debris of the rampart.²¹

- d. Terracotta 69 from the necropolis of Amathus. From tomb 213, which was used from the late CAI to the early CA II.²²
- e. Terracottas 984, 985, 986 from Kourion. From the Archaic Precinct fill, dated "from the late eighth century to no later than c. 480."²³

There is a diversity of traditions of the generalized Neo-Cypriote type cast in a frontal mold.²⁴ Although all material from Kythrea is very fragmentary, most specimens are identical or stand very close to terracottas known from the Arsos-Samos complex,²⁵ a group of sites on the eastern part of the island and the eastern Mediterranean, which share common families of terracotta series.

The assemblage of Kythrea, as a whole, is peculiar for the absence of post-Archaic types, as known from other sites,²⁶ inspite the continuation of the site past the Archaic period—the only exception is terracotta KyS 38, an interesting example of the Severe style in terracotta. The pattern is strongly reminiscent of the sculptural assemblage of Arsos, a sanctuary site with a much wider chronological span and a lack of later terracotta types.²⁷ At Arsos, the finds are dominated by Neo-Cypriote terracottas cast in frontal molds. Notable at Kythrea is the complete absence of female terracottas with uplifted arms,²⁸ an absence also noted at Arsos. Terracottas with uplifted arms form part of the sculptural assemblage of other sanctuaries which have produced moldmade Archaic terracottas.²⁹ The type, current in the Geometric and Archaic periods,³⁰ is typical of the votive assemblage of sanctuary sites of the west part of the island,³¹ from which, so far, no Neo-Cypriote terracottas cast in frontal molds have been reported. The presence of KyS 39, a handmade flute player with a conical cap, at Kythrea *Skali* is paralleled at Ajios Iakovos of the Arsos-Samos complex.³²

The different types

A handful of figurines are sufficiently well preserved to be linked positively to a specific type. The tables tabulate parallels sharing common iconography and style by site. A wavy line links figurines which are identical, apart from size. Comparisons are made between figurines of the same site, or with figurines from Arsos.

- a. KyS 1 (*Fig. 2a*) and KyS 3 (*Fig. 2b*)

Although KyS 1 was cast in a worn mold and has the face badly damaged, it can be positively identified as

identical to figurine C653 from Arsos (*Fig. 3*).³³ The type represents a female in a frontal position with arms along the sides. She is clad in a long sleeved garment which lets the body be read clearly underneath it. At the lower end the garment flares to the sides; the feet are set perpendicularly to the garment, but the sculpture cannot stand on its own. The figurine has rich jewelry. It wears a system of three concentric necklaces: a neckband worn tightly around the neck, a bead necklace below it and below that a pectoral, with the pendant falling in between the breasts. On the arms, above the wrists, are a series of armbands. The ear is covered with a series of clip earrings. The figurine wears long hanging double earrings. The hair, combed backwards in thick parallel strands and behind the ears at the sides, falls long in parallel tresses on the shoulders.

The style is Neo-Cypriote. The face is oval and full; the chin round and fleshy; the mouth small; the forehead low and broad; the cheeks long and full; the eyes large and almond shaped. The body is slim, the breasts flat and broad, the belly and upper thighs bulging.

A number of identical figurines from Arsos preserve the painted decoration.³⁴ The dress is painted in solid red; the hair and the neckline black. A black band runs horizontally along the lower front side, connecting two black bands, which frame the sides of the garment and curve around the lower arms. The paint might denote a decorative pattern, the seams of the garment or, more likely, a himation falling on the back and wrapped around the arms. Some variation does occur. In one instance, C606, the dress is not painted, while the himation is painted red; in another example, C645, the jewelry is painted yellow.

KyS 3 was cast in a smaller mold than KyS 1, again of mediocre definition. KyS 3 is also compatible with an attribution to a series generated by an archetype identical with C653. The abraded condition of the face does not disclose the possibility that it was slightly different than the face of C653.

The type is current in the Archaic period. *Table 2* tabulates its various occurrences by site.³⁵

- b. KyS 5 (*Fig. 4*), KyS 11 (*Fig. 5b*)

KyS 5 and KyS 11 are fragmentary. They both belong to the iconographic type represented by C671 (*Fig. 6*), a figurine from Arsos. The type represents a female dressed in a diaphanous chiton, which lets the slightly rounded contours of the body show underneath. The

Table 2. Parallels for KyS 1 and KyS 3.

Site	Complete or almost complete	Fragmentary
Arsos	C592~C605 (<i>Ekonomi</i> , 115, fig. 4)~C606 (<i>Fig. 24</i>)~C658~C616~C647 C645, C646~C642 C649 (<i>Fig. 23</i>)~C659 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 126) C650~C652~C653 (<i>Fig. 3</i>)~C654 C651, C660 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 127), C662, C663, C664, C673 C680 (<i>Fig. 25</i>), C682	
Ayios Iakovos		9* 40* (<i>A. Iakovos</i> , pl. 68)~C606 (<i>Fig. 24</i>)
Enkomi, Area III		6 (<i>Enkomi</i> , pl. 22)~C606 (<i>Fig. 24</i>) 7, 8*, 10*, 17* (all <i>Enkomi</i> , pl. 22)
Enkomi, Tomb 33		A98~C653 (<i>Fig. 3</i>)
Kazaphani		121 (<i>Kazaphani</i> , pl. 30) 135* (<i>Kazaphani</i> , pl. 30)~C653 (<i>Fig. 3</i>) 158* (<i>Kazaphani</i> , pl. 30)~C649 (<i>Fig. 23</i>)
Kourion		984 (<i>Kourion</i> , pl. 63)~(?C649/C653)
Kythrea <i>Kamilostrada</i>		Acc. 567* (<i>Fig. 16b</i>)~C606 (<i>Fig. 24</i>) Acc. 570* (<i>Fig. 16c</i>)
Lapithos	31 (<i>Lapithos</i> , 9, fig. 5, pl. 4)	
Lindos		2039 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 92) 2040 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 92)~(?C653 (<i>Fig. 3</i>))
Samos	T639+653 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 48)~C647 T 2641 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 48)~(?C680 (<i>Fig. 25</i>))	T 69* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 70) T 180* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 48) T 649* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 24) T 379* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 47)~(?C651) T 640* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 47) T 2073* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 24) T 2640* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 48)

Figurines diverging in style, jewelry or dress and parallels in larger format are excluded. A wavy line (~) links closest parallels; figurines poorly cast or poorly preserved are not matched. Very fragmentary material is not listed apart from examples marked with a star (*), which have been included with reservation. The collections from which the parallels are drawn are specified in the section before the abbreviations at the end of the article.



a

b

Fig. 2. a. KyS 1 b. KyS 3.



Fig. 3. C653, Cyprus Museum.

dress falls down to the feet, which peep out of the garment, perpendicularly to it. The right arm comes through/around the garments to rest across the body below the breasts holding a bird. A diadem with oval beads frames the forehead. The ears are covered completely by ear caps, in a double register of vertically aligned segments. Below them hang long double loop earrings. The figurine wears three concentric necklaces: a neckband with a large round pendant in the middle worn tightly around the neck; a necklace with biconical beads below the neckband; and a large circular pectoral which falls between the breasts. On the lower arm is a series of wrist bands. A nose ring hangs from the nose. The hair falls long in parallel tresses with curving ends on the shoulders.

The head is oval; the forehead rectangular, low and broad; the eyes large, almond-shaped, with well defined lids; the nose heavy and triangular; the lips curve downwards, parting in the middle, the lower lip being slightly thicker than the upper. The forms of the body

are rounded and treated in detail. Stylistically the type belongs to an early phase of the Neo-Cypriote style.³⁶

The type is consistent; only minor iconographic modifications are so far known.³⁷ In the majority of extant examples the figurine holds a bird, an attribute which often characterizes sculptures from female sanctuaries.³⁸ Figurine no. 28 from Lapithos and now in the Louvre³⁹ retains the standardized pose, but holds a tympanon with the right hand, which rests on the abdomen. A group of figurines from Lapithos in the Louvre and the British Museum present examples of a mixed technique, whereby only the head is pressed into a mold. The head is very close in style and iconography to the head of KyS 5; the body is either thrown on the wheel or modelled by hand.⁴⁰ Their iconography is more varied. Most of the figurines are depicted playing a tympanon; others hold a bird, a quadruped, or have smaller figurines attached to their front and back sides.

Paint is well preserved on a number of figurines from Arsos from the same series.⁴¹ In most figurines the

Table 3. Parallels for KyS 5 and KyS 11.

Site	Complete or almost complete
Arsos	C612, C641, C643, C655, C657, C661, C665, C666, C668, C669, C670, C671 (<i>Fig. 6</i>), C674, C674a, C676, C677, C678, C679
Idalion, <i>KBH</i> 3	M. J. 8015, 37 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 52: 16)
Lapithos	25, 26, 27, 28*, 29, 30 (all <i>Lapithos</i> pls. 3&4)

All terracottas share the same style and iconography. A star (*) marks variation in attribute. Based on material specified in the section immediately preceding the abbreviations.



Fig. 4. KyS 5.

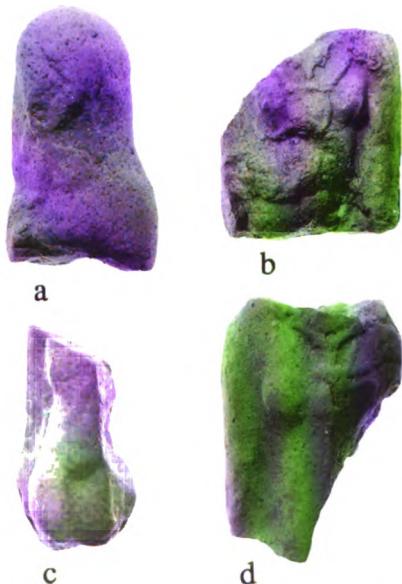


Fig. 5. a. KyS 4 b. KyS 11 c. KyS 17 d. KyS 16.



Fig. 6. C671, Cyprus Museum.

garment, and sometimes the skin are painted in red; the bird, the hair and sometimes the back side of the head and the eyebrows in black; the jewelry in yellow. The sides of the figurine below the lower arm are colored black, to denote a himation worn around the lower part of the upper arm, as in figures similar to KyS 1 and KyS 3. In one of the figurines, C669, the himation is painted in a stronger shade of red than the skin and dress.

The type has not been reported from stratified contexts. *Table 3* tabulates its known occurrences.⁴² Its distribution is restricted to Cyprus.

c. KyS 6 (Fig. 7)

Only the upper half of KyS 6 survives. The pose is frontal; the upper right arm is held along the side; the

left arm is bent at the elbow and holds the left breast. The belly is somewhat full, the forms of the body rounded. The mold in which the figurine was cast was slightly worn, and the details of the dress and jewelry are difficult to read. Two oblique and a more vertical line on either side of the upper body above the breasts might have marked the neckline of the garment on the front side. A string of biconical beads with a bead hanging lower in the middle is worn tight around the neck. The beads of the diadem, arranged in one row, are still discernible above the forehead.

Parts of KyS 6 find a direct parallel in two fragments from the Heraion at Samos, which, as suggested by Schmidt,⁴³ probably once formed part of the same figurine. The head is identical, though smaller in size, to T 2651; the body to T 2274.



Fig. 7. KyS 6.



Fig. 8. 2063, National Museum, Copenhagen.

KyS 6 finds a very close stylistic counterpart in 2063 (Fig. 8) from Lindos. Apart from T 2651, a group of figurines from Samos and figurine no. 75 from Ajios Iakovos are executed in precisely the same style as KyS 6.⁴⁴ Of these T 1772 gives the earliest context for the group; it is dated to prior to the seventh decade of the 7th century.⁴⁵ The style is Neo-Cypriote with the usual emphasis on fleshy, rounded forms, but shows its idiosyncrasies: the face has an almost round shape; the eyelids are indicated by double lines; the area around the mouth is rendered with emphatic depressions; the eyebrows are plain, instead of being feathered as it is typical for Neo-Cypriote sculptures. The archetypes for molds of figurines from these series had, in all probability, originated in the same workshop. We note here that petrographically KyS 6 forms a group in itself. The texture of KyS 6 is rough, the external appearance of the clay porous; a porous texture is given by Schmidt for T 2651.⁴⁶

d. KyS 8 (Fig. 9), KyS 17 (Fig. 5c)

KyS 8 represents a female figure with arms along the sides and no jewelry. The hair, combed in an undifferentiated mass on either side of the face, falls on the shoulders. The breasts are carefully rendered. The proportions are heavy and stout. The face is round, with broad cheeks, a long and low forehead, a triangular nose and a protruding, almost pouting, mouth. The ears are set obliquely rather than parallel to the sides of the face, showing in a three quarter view when the figurine is seen *en face*.

A marked preference for fleshy forms and rounded contours characterize the style of KyS 8 bringing it close to the Neo-Cypriote style. The “Egyptian” aura given by the wig-like rendering of the hair—if this is not a headcloth—and the placement of the ears would classify the piece as Cypro-Egyptian. If a Cypriote product, it should perhaps be best understood, in Vermeule’s terms,⁴⁷ as a Neo-Cypriote version of a Cypro-Egyptian theme.

Four figurines from Arsos C618, C686, C687, C688 (Fig. 10), all from the same mold, are identical with KyS 8 and preserve the lower part of the body, which is missing in KyS 8.⁴⁸ C688 and C687 are painted. Traces of red color, once painted solid, are seen on the face and body of C688. A black line can be followed along the sides of C687, from the armpits to close to the feet, connected by two horizontal lines at the feet, which perhaps define the hem or a decorative pattern at the

lower part of the garment. Color traces on the body and neck suggest that they were painted in solid red.

Only the right side of the middle part of the body of KyS 17 is preserved. The pose, the emphasis on the waist, the pubic triangle and the thighs find good parallels in figurines C617, C631 and C632 (Fig. 11), C667, C690 and C691 (Fig. 12) from Arsos. These figurines are executed in the Cypro-Egyptian style and show a compatible color scheme, best preserved on C691. Here the body and face are painted in solid red, the hair and—in this particular figurine—the back side of the head in black; the eyes and eyebrows are outlined in black; and two black lines define the sides of the body below the armpits.

The closest parallels for KyS 8 and KyS 17 come from Arsos. To the figurines already mentioned, we add 2064 from Lindos, C615 from Arsos—these are identical to each other—and KEF 626 from Kition *Bamboula*.⁴⁹

e. KyS 9 (Fig. 13)

Only the upper half of the figurine is preserved. The terracotta is female, the pose frontal. She is clad in a long-sleeved garment with a rectangular neckline. The upper right arm is held by the side; the left is bent at the elbow and rests on the abdomen holding a tambourine. The figurine wears a band or a turban (?)⁵⁰ around the head, long double loop hanging earrings, and a neckband of one string of biconical beads with a somewhat larger bead hanging in the middle. The hair falls long on the shoulders.

The cast is mediocre and not enough details of the face survive to invite a stylistic analysis. What does survive suggests a placement of the piece in the Neo-Cypriote style. The serene and composed expression of the face and the lack of emphasis on round contours and fleshy cheeks would point to a more mature stylistic phase.

Peculiar for the piece is the hole in the back side of the head—fingerprints show clearly that the coroplast removed clay from the back side of the head. The feature is shared by figurines from other sites of the Arsos-Samos complex.⁵¹

I know of no direct parallel for this figurine.

f. KyS 10 (Fig. 14)

The type represents a female figure with the left arm along the side and the right arm bent at the elbow and



Fig. 9. KyS 8.



Fig. 10. C688, Cyprus Museum.

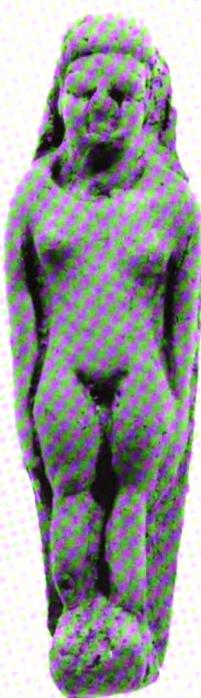


Fig. 11. C632, Cyprus Museum.

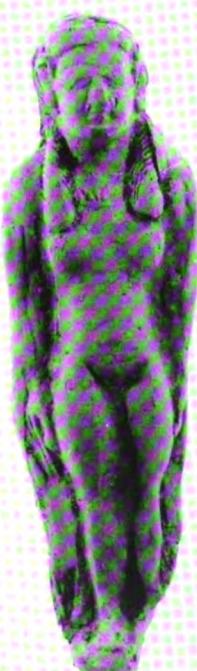


Fig. 12. C691, Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 13. KyS 9.

resting below the left breast. The figure is dressed in a long sleeved garment with a low rectangular neckline. The contours of the breasts, the pubic triangle, the belly, and the upper thighs show clearly under the garment. The figure wears two nested necklaces: a large circular pectoral, which falls down between the breasts; and, above the pectoral, a necklace of biconical beads with a slightly longer oval bead hanging in the middle. The hair falls long on the shoulders.

C607 and C595 (*Fig. 15*), both from Arsos, define the type. The hair, combed in parallel strands, frames the forehead. Long, double loop earrings hang down from the ears. The face is oval and full, the eyes almond-shaped and moderately large, the nose triangular, the mouth small, the chin round and slightly curving upwards. The curves of the body show clearly under the garment. The style is Neo-Cypriote. The serene, composed expression in of the face in C607 point to a more mature stylistic phase. C595 preserves the lowest part of the body: the garment comes down to the feet, which peep out horizontally.

KyS 10 is covered by a wash only. The color scheme on C595 is typical for this specific iconographic type. The dress is painted in solid red; the himation, wrapped around the wrists and falling down along the sides black; in C593, C594, C596 and C601 from Arsos the hair is painted black; in C594 the neckline is defined in black. C596 diverges in its color scheme from the rest. Here the neckline and the himation are painted in red; the dress in solid orange.

Acc. 568 (*Fig. 16a*) from Kythrea *Kamilostrada* in the so-called Accession collection of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the Medelhavsmuseet belongs to the same series as C595.

Table 4 tabulates the occurrence of the type by site.⁵²

g. KyS 14 (*Fig. 17*)

Only the upper body is preserved. The figurine is female, the pose frontal. It is dressed in a long sleeved top which terminates at the hips, and has a rectangular opening at the neck. The figure wears a pectoral which falls down between the breasts and a necklace of biconical beads around the neck above it. The hair is worn long and falls in parallel tresses on each shoulder. The left arm is down at the side; the right arm, bent at the elbow, rests along the abdomen, holding a "book" or a tambourine—if it is a tambourine, its outer side was pressed straight.

The extant part finds a direct parallel in a figurine from Lindos, a figurine from Naukratis and two figurines from Area III in Enkomi, all of which hold a tympanon and bear traces of red color, as our example.⁵³ The figurines from Lindos and Naukratis, preserve the neck; a neckband is worn tight around the neck. Figurines dressed similarly and holding a "book" or a tambourine are executed in variants of the Neo-



Fig. 14. KyS 10.



Fig. 15. C595, Cyprus Museum.

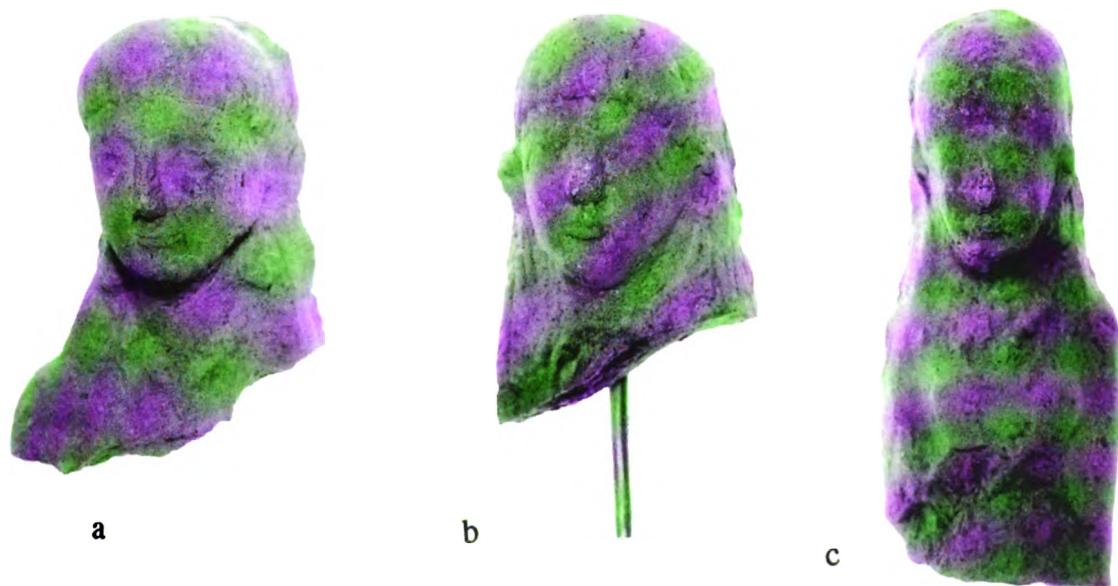


Fig. 16. a. Acc. 568 b. Acc. 567 c. Acc. 570.

Table 4. Parallels for KyS 10.

Site	Complete or almost complete	Fragmentary
Arsos	C593~C601 C594 C595 (<i>Fig. 15</i>)~C599 C596 C600~C607	
Achna	A73 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 11: 10)	
Campanopetra		682* (Monloup (<i>supra</i> n. 21), pl. 34)~C595 (<i>Fig. 15</i>)
Idalion, <i>KBH 3</i>	M. J. 8015, 25 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 52: 26) M. J. 8015, 26 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 52: 25)	
Kythrea <i>Kamilostrada</i>		Acc. 568* (<i>Fig. 16a</i>)~C595 (<i>Fig. 15</i>)
Patriki	19 (<i>Patriki</i> , pl. 16)	
Cameiros		14366* (<i>Rhodos</i> , 303, fig. 34 middle & <i>Samos</i> , pl. 127)
Lindos		2033* (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 92)~C595 (<i>Fig. 15</i>)
Samos	T 1151+2468+2652~T 893 and T 1206* (all <i>Samos</i> , pl. 50)	T 249a* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 23)~C595/C607

Figurines listed are of small format and comparable iconography. Closest parallels are linked with a wavy line (~). All terracottas in the Arsos entry are almost identical. The star (*) marks very fragmentary material included with reservation. Candidates for the table preserving only the lower part of the body have been excluded. The parallels are drawn from material specified in the section immediately preceding the abbreviations.

Table 5. Parallels for KyS 14.

Site	Complete or almost complete	Fragmentary
Arsos	C597~C610~C611~C697 C598 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 70)~C602 C604, C609 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 59) C656 (<i>Fig. 18</i>), C698 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 52) C700, C702, C704, C706~(?C609)	
Achna	A81 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 210:8)~A82	
Enkomi, Area III		11* (<i>Enkomi</i> , pl. 12)~(?C656) 14 (<i>Enkomi</i> , pl. 12)~(?C656/C698/C706) 15~16 (both <i>Enkomi</i> , pl. 12)~ (?C656/C698/C706)
Enkomi, Tomb 13		A95 (Walters (<i>supra</i> n. 25), 26, fig. 53)~C597
Idalion, <i>KBH</i> 3		[M. J. 8015, 22 (<i>KBH</i> , pl. 51: 7)]
Kamelarga	18 (<i>Kamelarga</i> , 166, fig. 15)~(?C597)	
Cameiros	B130 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 126) Terracotta in Tomb 27 (<i>Rhodos</i> , 90, fig. 102)	
Lindos		2038 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 92)~2068* (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 93) 2043 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 92 & <i>Constantinople</i> , pl. 1:5) 2044 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 93 & <i>Samos</i> , pl. 123)~(?C656/C698/C706) 2046* (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 93)~(<i>Samos</i> , pl. 125) 2048 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 124)~? 2049 (<i>Lindos</i> , pl. 93) [2053]
Naukratis		B325 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 122)~(?C656/C698/C706)
Samos	T 176+642~T 1505 (both <i>Samos</i> , pl. 51) T 635+638~T 634 (both <i>Samos</i> , pl. 52) T 636~C698 (both <i>Samos</i> , pl. 52)	T 24 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 49)~T 835* pl. 51 (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 46)~ T 701*, T 1164*~C609 (all pl. 52) <i>Samos</i> , pl. 59) T 2085*~C609 (both <i>Samos</i> , pl. 59) T 2312, T 643*, T 651*, T 858*, T 1765*, 2503* all~C598 (all <i>Samos</i> , pl. 70) T 2581* (<i>Samos</i> , pl. 47)~(?C698)

The figures are small and in all cases the 'book' or the tambourine is held close to the body below the breasts. Very fragmentary material is not listed apart from examples marked with a star (*), which are included with reservation. Closest parallels are linked by a wavy line (~). Examples diverging in style are placed in brackets ([]). The parallels are drawn from material specified in the section immediately preceding the abbreviations.



Fig. 17. KyS 14.



Fig. 18. C656, Cyprus Museum.

Cypriote style and differ only in minor aspects of the jewelry and dress.

C656 (*Fig. 18*) from Arsos shows how the lower part of the garment would have looked like. The garment, slightly flaring along the sides, falls down to the feet concealing completely the body. In the center hang two long horizontals with narrow vertical subdivisions at the end—probably the ends of a belt adorned with tassels.⁵⁴ The feet peep out perpendicularly to the body.

Table 5 tabulates the known occurrence of the type, holding either a “book” or a tambourine.⁵⁵

h. KyS 15 (*Fig. 19*)

Most unfortunately, the head of KyS 15 is missing. The terracotta is female, and stands in a frontal position with both arms along the sides. Around the neck is a decorative pattern which represents either a necklace

or, more probably, the collar of the garment. Figurine 1752 from Ajia Irini and C675 from Arsos give parallels for the collar in terracotta. The collar occurs fairly frequently in Archaic Cypriote sculptures in stone, the iconography of which evokes “Egyptian” examples.⁵⁶ The dress of the figurine is hard to understand. It seems that she wears a piece of cloth which covers the wrists and the upper thighs.

I know of no parallel for KyS 15 from Cyprus. A direct stylistic parallel is given by T 2639, a female terracotta from the Heraion.⁵⁷ Here the pose is the same, but the hands are on the breasts in a gesture common in Archaic Cypriote sculpture. T 2639 was found below the Plaster of Altar VII; the findspot, according to Schmidt, gives a date in the (early?) sixth century, before the organization of the sanctuary by Rhoikos.⁵⁸



Fig. 19. KyS 15.



Fig. 20. a-b. KyS 37.

i. KyS 37 (*Fig. 20a–b*)

KyS 37 most probably was cast in a frontal mold. The incisions on the back side were made by hand. The figurine wears a long necklace with a larger central bead around the neck. Above it are three beads, which, in all probability, hang down from a neckband worn tight around the neck, similar to the neckbands worn by examples from Arsos, Achna, and Samos.⁵⁹ The hair falls long on the shoulders, rendered in parallel tresses. The body curves slightly to the left. The arms are extended, connected with clay to the body, a rendering perhaps intended to suggest that the figurine is wearing a veil.

The interest in the treatment of the curves of the body, the way the hair is worn, and the type of jewelry place the figurine in the Neo-Cypriote style. I know of no direct parallels for KyS 37. An unpublished figurine in the British Museum, 1969. 2–10. 16, shows a somewhat similar pose. It is of comparable size⁶⁰ and was cast in a frontal mold. Although the surface of the face is worn, the style and the type of jewelry are compatible with an assignment of the piece to the Neo-Cypriote style. The example in the British Museum wears a veil, which covers the head and the left arm, which is extended. In other examples from Achna the arms are depicted extended, giving the outline of the sculpture an almost cruciform character.⁶¹ Similar terracottas as those from Achna have been reported from tumulus 77 in the necropolis of Salamis.⁶² A later series of terracottas in the Cesnola collection described as dancers are depicted with extended arms.⁶³ Figure 143 from Ajios Varnavas⁶⁴ gives a parallel, though not a close one, for the pose in stone. Here the himation is thrown over the left shoulder.

j. KyS 38 (*Figs. 21a–b*)

KyS 38 was cast in a frontal mold ultimately derived from an archetype which was clearly influenced by a Greek prototype. The himation might have been worn around the back and on the shoulders,⁶⁵ or over the head.⁶⁶ One notes the peculiar way it falls at the sides; clearly, the sculptor misunderstood the way it was actually worn. Figurines from Arsos, Amathus, and Achna provide good parallels in terracotta for the gesture, which is very common in Cypriote sculpture.⁶⁷ The lack of contraposto and the treatment of the drapery would place stylistically KyS 38 in the Severe style.

Ordering by size and assignment to molds

The moldmade terracottas range in size from minute to c. 35 cm in height.⁶⁸ KyS 31 (*Fig. 22d*) is the smallest terracotta in the assemblage. The figurines can be placed in sets of comparable size separated by colons. In the list which follows the sets are ordered in decreasing size and are separated by colons; members of each set are set apart by commas:

KyS 26, KyS 33; KyS 10; KyS 9; KyS 15, KyS 24; **KyS** 11, KyS 16, KyS 18, KyS 22, KyS 25; KyS 5, KyS 7, KyS 36; KyS 1, KyS 4, KyS 5, KyS 6, KyS 8, KyS 12 and KyS 13, KyS 14, KyS 29; KyS 19, KyS 20 and **KyS**



Fig. 21. a–b. KyS 38.

21, KyS 23, KyS 27 and KyS 29; KyS 36; KyS 28; KyS 3, KyS 17, KyS 32; KyS 30; KyS 31.

Generalized Basic Series

Nicholls introduced the term series to refer to terracottas ultimately derivable from the same archetype.⁶⁹ The chronological significance attached to the term—roughly that, by rule, smaller terracottas should be later, cast in molds of subsequent generations—cannot be applied to this case, as identical figurines, differing only in size might have been produced contemporaneously. The term series is used here in a broader sense to denote figurines sharing identical archetypes, differing only in size.

Most of the terracottas from the site are very fragmentary, preserving only parts of the body. A number of fragments are pairwise identical—apart from size—so as to entertain the possibility that they might belong to a common series. In fact, most fragments are compatible with an attribution to a series generated by an archetype identical in all but size with KyS 1 (*Fig. 2a*).

A study of finds from other sites, especially from Arsos, shows that a number of terracottas differing

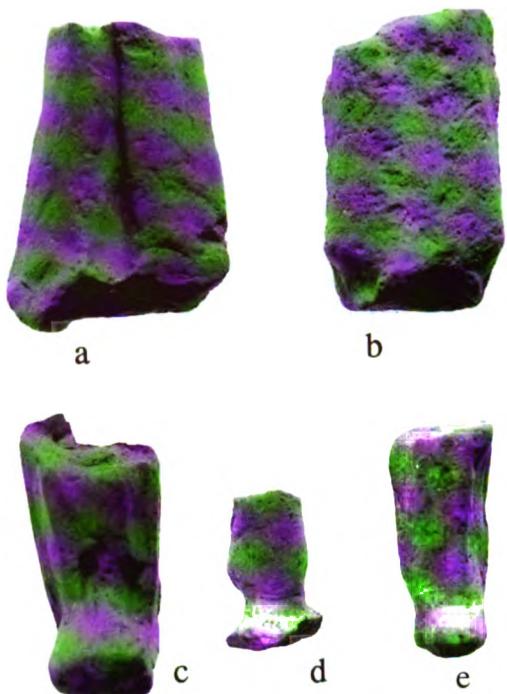


Fig. 22. a. KyS 29 b. KyS 28 c. KyS 32 d. KyS 31 e. KyS 30.

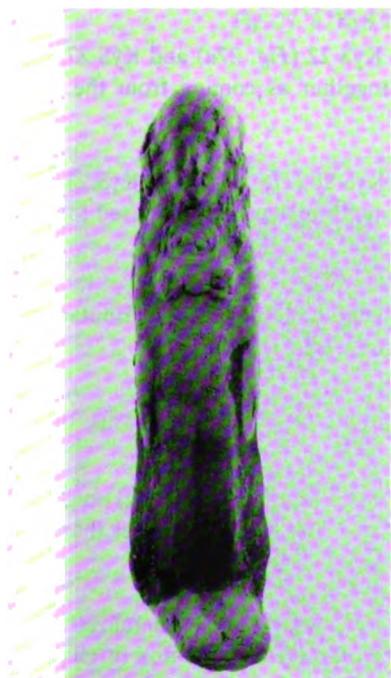


Fig. 23. C649, Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 24. C606, Cyprus Museum.

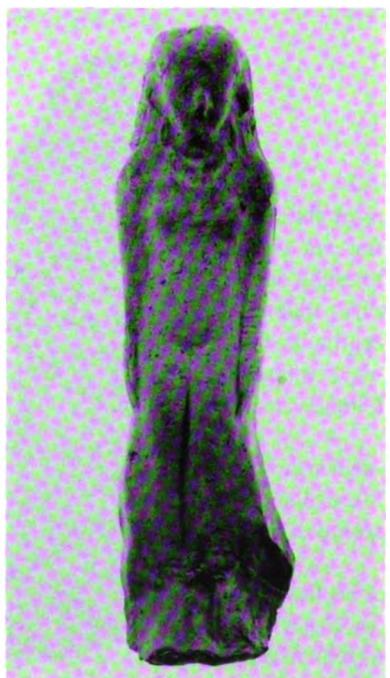


Fig. 25. C680, Cyprus Museum.

from KyS 1 in details of the jewelry, relative proportions and fullness of the face, are compatible with most of the fragments and could, theoretically, have served as the archetype. For example, Acc. 567 (*Fig. 16b*) and Acc. 570 (*Fig. 16c*) from Kythrea *Kamilostrada*, C649 (*Fig. 23*), C606 (*Fig. 24*), and C680 (*Fig. 25*) from Arsos could have served as archetypes for the more fragmentary Kythrea material. If we are to see the Kythrea fragments as part of a series, we have to reckon with the possibility of several archetypes generating the same basic type. These figurines might be placed in a common group, termed the Generalized Basic Series. Clearly, even if two fragments attributed to this series are identical, it is still possible that the missing parts are different. Moreover, examples from Arsos and Samos where the pose and gesture vary compel us to picture a larger variety of iconographic prototypes serving as archetypes for the Generalized Basic Series.⁷⁰ The specification of an archetype is even more difficult in the case of fragments which preserve the lower part of the body only. More divergence in style is also to be expected in the Generalized Basic Series, as exemplified by Acc. 569 (*Fig. 26*), a terracotta from Kythrea *Kamilostrada*.



Fig. 26. Acc. 569.

The following figurines are classified within the Generalized Basic Series:

KyS 1, KyS 2, KyS 3, KyS 12, KyS 13, KyS 16, KyS 18, KyS 19, KyS 20, KyS 21, KyS 22, KyS 23, KyS 25, KyS 26.⁷¹

Assignment to common molds is attempted with reservation.

a. Fragments which preserve the upper part of the body:

KyS 1 (*Fig. 2a*), KyS 3 (*Fig. 2b*), KyS 12 (*Fig. 27c*) and KyS 13 (*Fig. 27b*) are identical, differing only in size. KyS 12 and KyS 13 were cast in the same mold.

KyS 2 (*Fig. 28*) was cast in a mold of the same series as KyS 1, KyS 12-KyS 13 and KyS 3; the mold for KyS 2 was more carefully worked for better definition.

What survives from KyS 16 (*Fig. 5d*) is compatible with an assignment to the same series. KyS 16 is larger than KyS 1.

b. Fragments which preserve the middle part of the body:

KyS 18 (*Fig. 27e*), KyS 22 (*Fig. 27a*) and KyS 27 (*Fig. 29f*) are grouped together as coming from the same mold.

KyS 19 (*Fig. 27g*), KyS 20 (*Fig. 27d*), and KyS 21 (*Fig. 27f*) were cast in a mold smaller than that used for KyS 18, KyS 22 and KyS 27.

KyS 26 (*Fig. 29a*) is the largest figurine attributable to the Generalized Basic Series.

c. Fragments which preserve the lower part of the body:

KyS 23 (*Fig. 29b*) and KyS 25 (*Fig. 29g*) might be assigned to the same series. KyS 25 is larger than KyS 23.

T 2073 from Samos belongs to the Generalized Basic Series. It is one of the oldest sculptures in Cypriote style from the Heraion, dated by its stratigraphical context to the early 7th century.⁷²

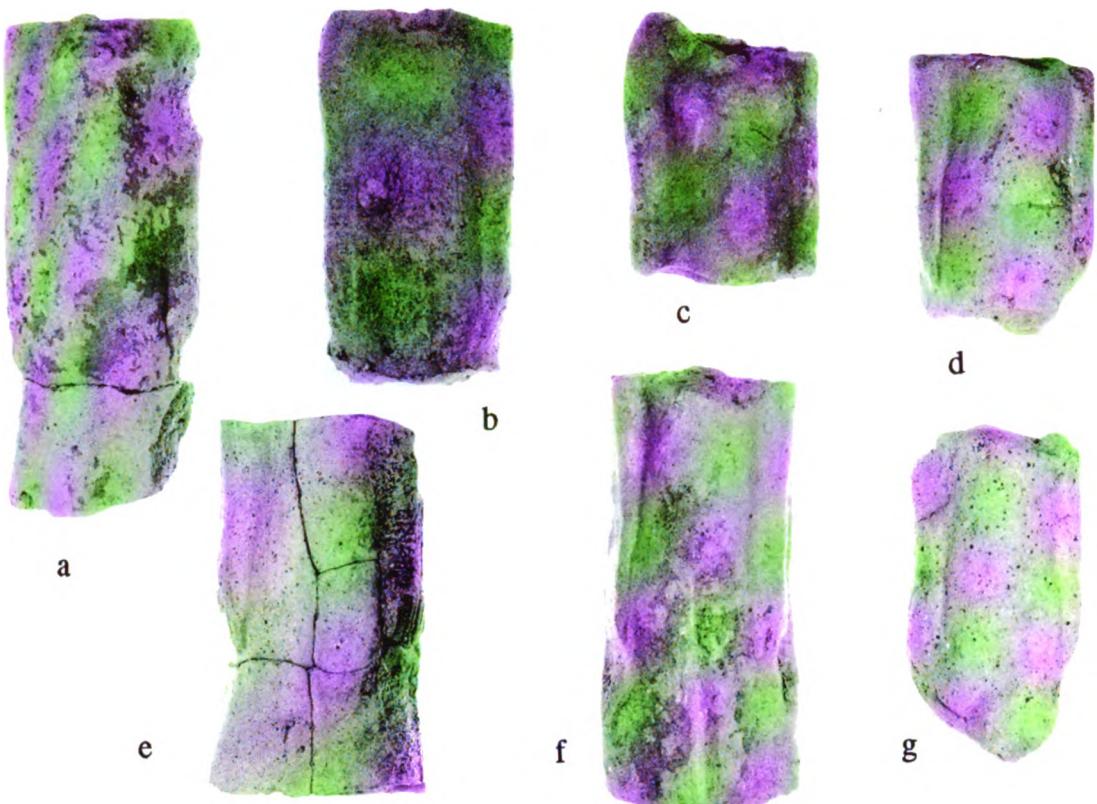


Fig. 27. a. KyS 22 b. KyS 13 c. KyS 12 d. KyS 20 e. KyS 18 f. KyS 21 g. KyS 19.



Fig. 28. KyS 2.

Variation in the treatment of the back side

The back sides of figurines cast in frontal molds from Kythrea show a variety of treatment: some are left unworked; others are cut either flat along the edges of the mold or concave towards the moldmade part. This variation, especially interesting in the case of figurines of the same series, suggests different finishing techniques, which possibly reflect final procedures adopted by different coroplasts.

The observations to follow point to certain conclusions, which are not stated explicitly—the small size of the sample at hand and a lack of a more definite context warrant for caution.

Of the figurines attributable to the Generalized Basic Series we note that the back sides of KyS 1 (*Fig. 30a*), KyS 3 (*Fig. 30b*) and KyS 12 (*Fig. 31a*) are treated in the same way: they are flat and clean with all extra clay past the limits of the front side of the mold having been

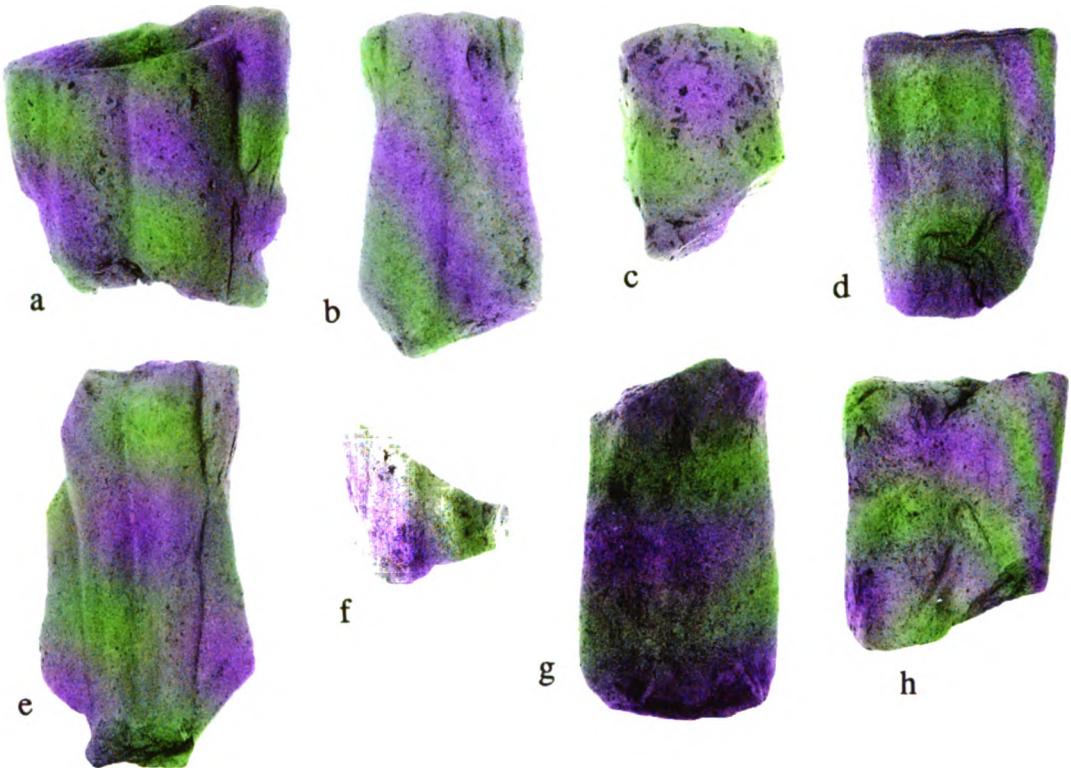


Fig. 29. a. KyS 26 b. KyS 23 c. KyS 36 d. KyS 34 e. KyS 24 f. KyS 27 g. KyS 25 h. KyS 35.

shaven off. KyS 2, KyS 20, KyS 21 and KyS 25 (Fig. 29g) are grouped together: the back sides are roughly flat, lacking tool- or fingermarks. KyS 18 (Fig. 31d) and KyS 19 (Fig. 31e) have concave back sides.

No tool- or fingermarks are visible on the back sides of KyS 5 and KyS 11 (Fig. 32b), which come from the same series, or of KyS 8 (Fig. 31c) and KyS 17 (Fig. 32c), which belong to the same stylistic group. Of these the back sides of KyS 5 and KyS 8 were carelessly left with uneven surfaces.

2. LARGE-SCALE TERRACOTTAS

The large-scale terracottas from the site form a very fragmentary group, giving little information as to the types of larger scale sculpture current on the site. The material is, none the less, important for illustrating the variation in scale of the terracottas some of which are of

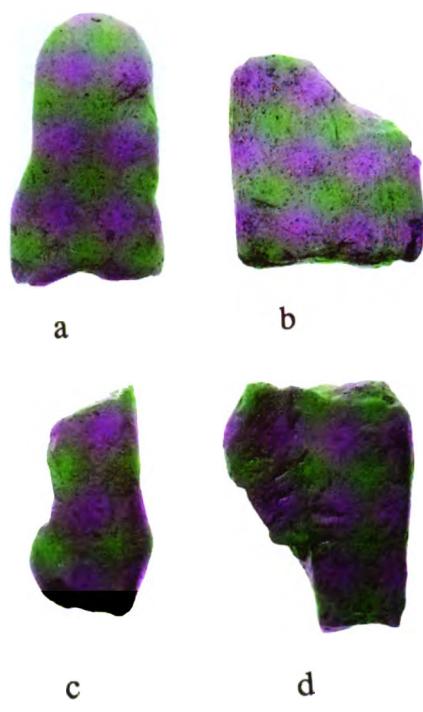
considerable proportions, reaching lifesize, KyS 40a-b (Fig. 33), KyS 41 (Fig. 34a), KyS 43 (Fig. 35), KyS 48 (Fig. 36a). Ohnefalsch-Richter illustrates a large-scale head in terracotta found during his excavations at *Skali*.⁷³ The head is executed in the Neo-Cypriote style and, to judge by the ear caps, represents a female. The feathered eyebrows, characteristic of terracotta sculpture in the Neo-Cypriote style, are paralleled in KyS 46 (Fig. 37a) in our assemblage.

A study of Archaic sculptures from other sites shows that Cypriote coroplasts were intimately familiar with standard pottery building techniques and that the use of the wheel was central in the production of larger-scale statuary.⁷⁴ The same techniques are attested at Kythrea *Skali*. Several terracotta fragments were thrown on the wheel, e.g., KyS 49 (Fig. 36b), KyS 50 (Fig. 36c), KyS 53 (Fig. 38b). KyS 41 (Fig. 34a) gives clear evidence for coiling. KyS 47 (Fig. 39) was probably cast.



a b

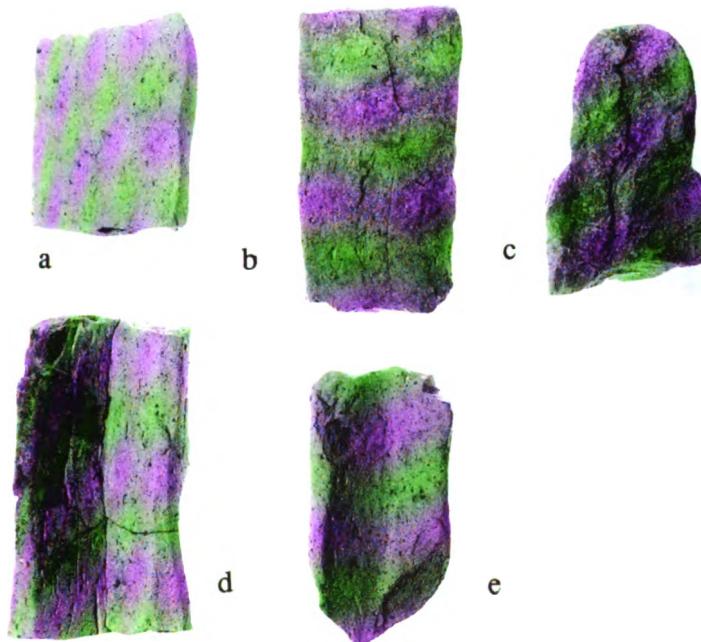
Fig. 30. a. KyS 1 b. KyS 3.



a b

c d

Fig. 32. a. KyS 4 b. KyS 11 c. KyS 17 d. KyS 16.



d e

Fig. 31. a. KyS 12 b. KyS 13 c. KyS 8
d. KyS 18 e. KyS 19.

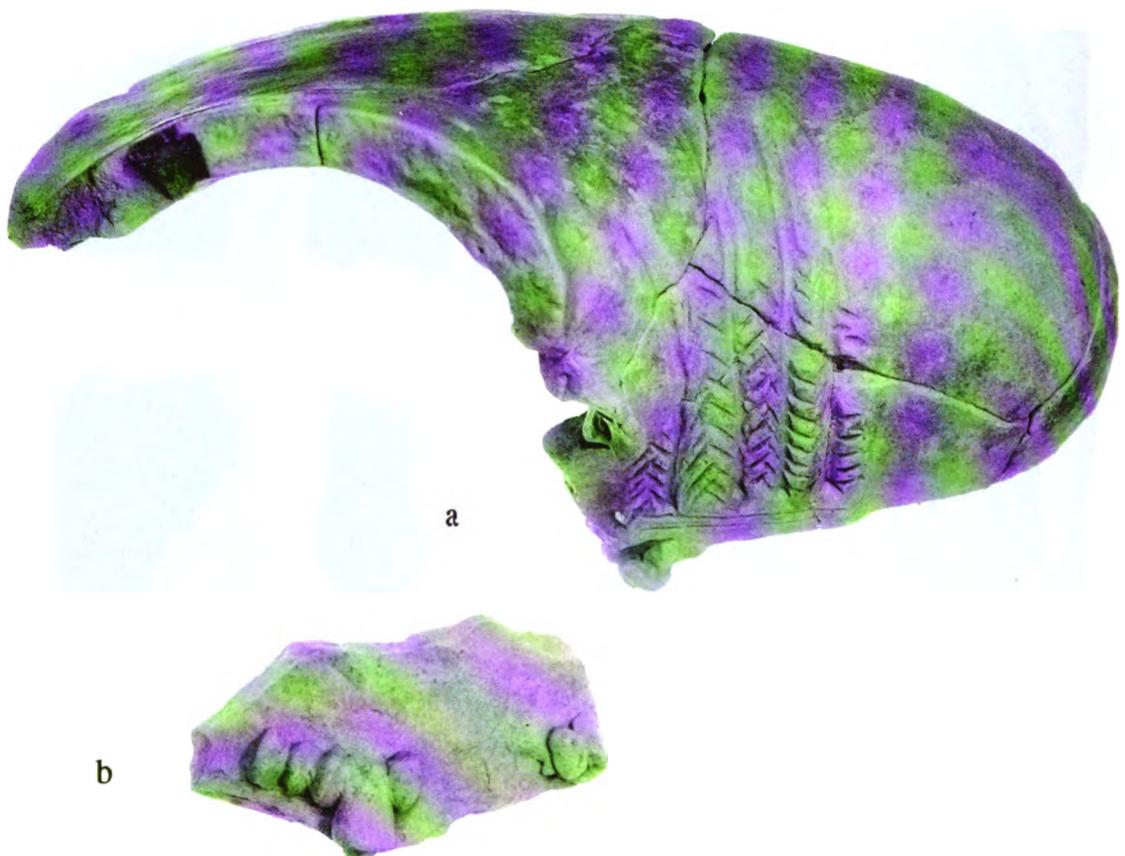


Fig. 33. a. KyS 40a b. KyS 40b.

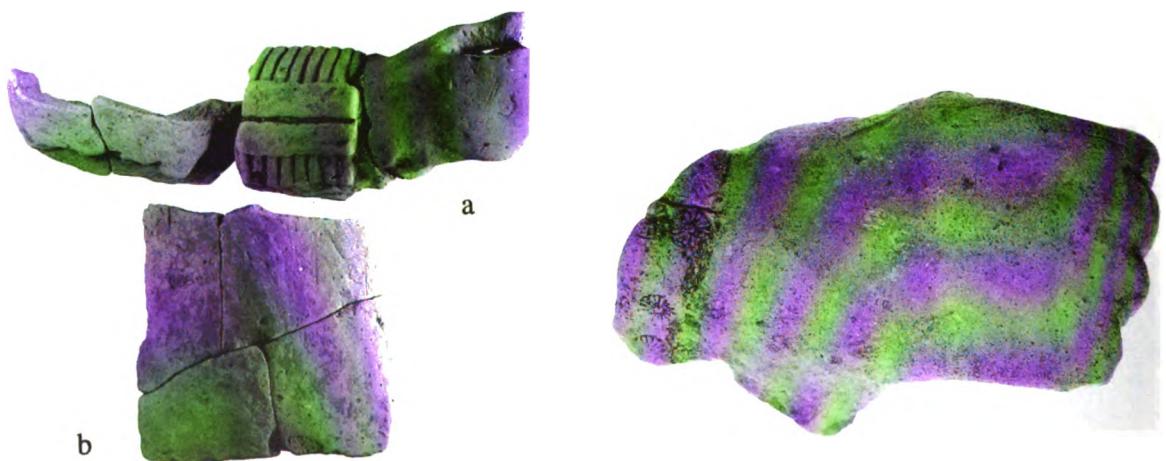


Fig. 34. a. KyS 41 b. KyS 42.

Fig. 35. KyS 43.

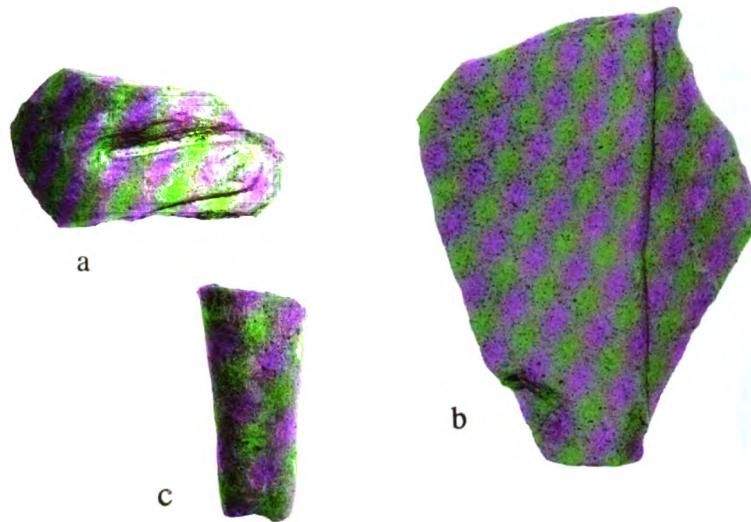


Fig. 36. a. KyS 48 b. KyS 49
c. KyS 50.

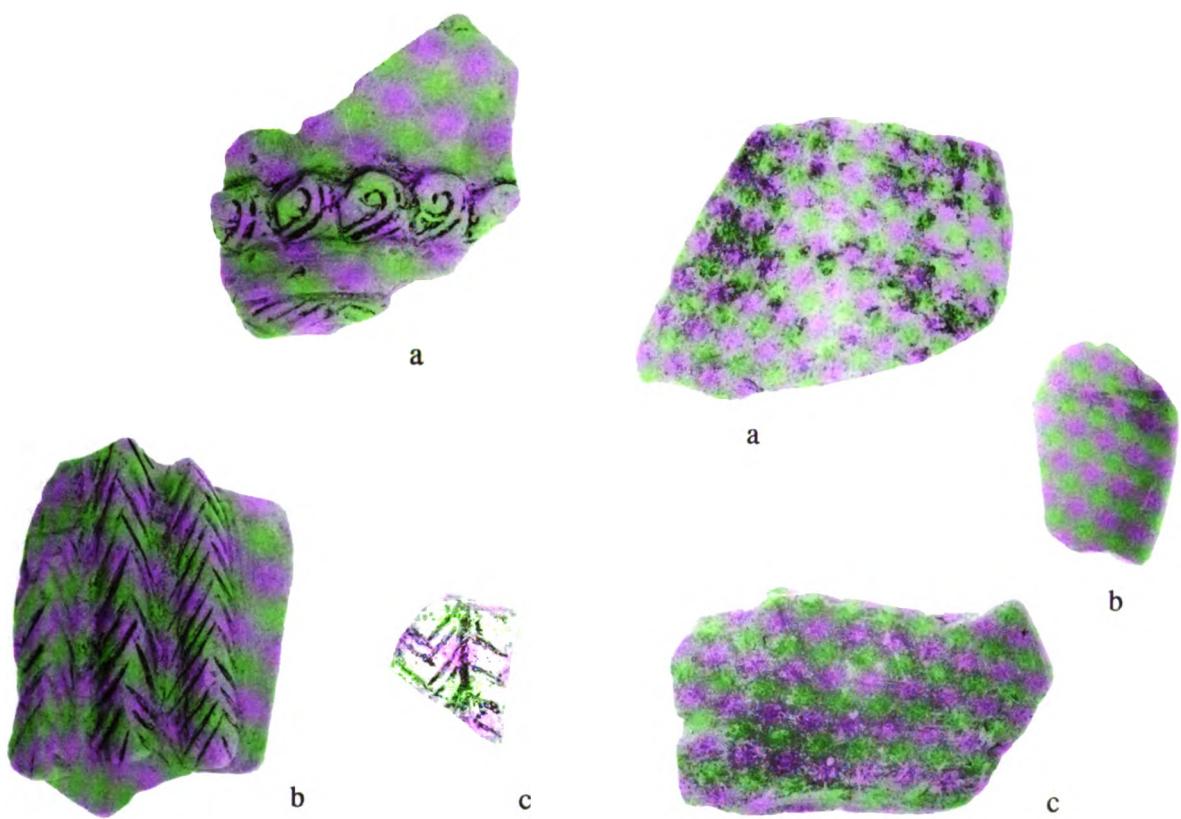


Fig. 37. a. KyS 46 b. KyS 44 c. KyS 45.

Fig. 38. a. KyS 52 b. KyS 53 c. KyS 51.



Fig. 39. KyS 47.

3. TECHNICAL ANALYSES

Petrographic analysis

Sampling method and objectives

All terracottas were examined under a microscope giving 70% magnification. A division of clays into groups on the basis of the type of inclusions present was not possible due to the scarcity of inclusions in most samples. Of the small terracottas KyS 1 (*Fig. 2a*), KyS 3 (*Fig. 2b*), KyS 6 (*Fig. 7*), KyS 9 (*Fig. 13*), KyS 10 (*Fig. 14*), KyS 14 (*Fig. 17*), KyS 34 (*Fig. 29d*) and KyS 39 (*Fig. 40*) were more heavily tempered; of the larger, KyS 47 (*Fig. 39*), KyS 49 (*Fig. 36b*) and KyS 50 (*Fig. 36c*) were high in inclusions. It was not possible to take material for analysis from a number of figurines in order to preserve their integrity. With this restriction, the samples chosen were representative of the variation in clay inclusions noticed under the microscope. Several samples from terracottas low in inclusions were selected to establish the degree of variation in the group. 27 samples were taken in total. The thin sections were studied by Dr. Josef Riederer.

The scope of the petrographic analysis was two-fold. The first part aimed at answering questions relevant to the Kythrea material looked upon as an entity in itself:

- a. Were the same clays used for large and small-scale terracottas?
- b. Was there a correlation between types and clays in the case of small-scale terracottas?

Dr. Riederer's study of thin sections gives answers to both questions. We now know that the same classes of clays were used for the production of small and large-scale terracottas (petrographic groups A1c, B1, B2, C) (*Table 6*). Of these notable is KyS 9 (*Fig. 13*), KyS 33 (*Fig. 41*) and KyS 48 (*Fig. 36a*), assignable to the same petrographic grouping and with comparable microscopic properties; a similar comment holds for KyS 18 (*Fig. 27e*), KyS 19 (*Fig. 27g*) and KyS 46 (*Fig. 37a*). Moreover, keeping in mind the inherent limitations of petrographic analysis, we can assert that terracottas belonging to different types were made out of a common clay. KyS 5 (*Fig. 4*) and KyS 13 (*Fig. 27b*) offer the most notable example. They both belong to group A1a and have similar petrographic properties, but are clearly attributed to different series. KyS 14 (*Fig. 17*), KyS 18 (*Fig. 27e*), KyS 19 (*Fig. 27g*) present the next example; they share similar petrographic properties, though the percentage of temper in KyS 14 is lower.

The second part of the question looks at the material in a broader context; the answers have considerable implications for the mechanics behind the distribution of moldmade figurines in Neo-Cypriote styles, especially those belonging to a common complex. Figurines similar to the ones from Kythrea have been found at sites belonging to the Arsos-Samos complex. Which series were local to each site and which external? Will we be able, with this modest beginning, to establish the relevant criteria which might fingerprint terracottas from specific sites on the basis of clay characterization?

The report gives encouraging results. The presence of a particular type of volcanic rock in most of the Kythrea samples indicates a common geological origin. The measure of specificity of this criterion for the Kythrea material can only be assessed through comparative studies of terracottas from other sites of the Arsos-Samos complex. The absence of volcanic rock fragments from a few of the Kythrea samples underlines the complexity of the problem. One stops short of making tempting conclusions awaiting for more comparative material.

Table 6. Microscopic properties of the thin sections. For the typology of fabric see Riederer (infra n. 75).

	Grain number per mm ²	Grain size distribution (mm)			Maximum grain size (mm)	Fabric	Temper (%)
		< 0.02	0.02–0.2	> 0.2			
KyS 5	20	15	4	1	0.8	G 1	10
KyS 13	10	6	3	1	0.5	G 1	5
KyS 25	15	12	2	1	0.5	G 1	10
KyS 32	25	20	4	1	1.0	G 2	15
KyS 23	5	4		1	1.0	G 2	5
KyS 15	400	350	50		0.1	G 2	30
KyS 26	300	250	50	1	0.8	F 1	25
KyS 40a	500	450	50		0.2	F 2	30
KyS 43	250	200	50	1	0.4	E 2	20
KyS 50	220	180	40		0.4	E 2	20
KyS 34	40	15	20	5	0.4	D 3	25
KyS 2	300	250	50		0.2	F 3	25
KyS 21	500	450	50		0.2	G 3	30
KyS 41	450	400	50		0.2	G 2	25
KyS 49	150	130	20	1	0.3	G 2	20
KyS 3	40	30	10		0.2	D 3	15
KyS 9	80	70	10		0.2	F 2	20
KyS 33	120	100	20		0.2	F 2	20
KyS 47	30	20	10		0.4	E 2	25
KyS 48	200	180	20		0.2	F 2	25
KyS 6	20	10	10		0.5	E 3	15
KyS 10	150	130	20	1	0.6	F 2	20
KyS 14	80	75	5		0.2	G 1	5
KyS 18	200	180	20		0.1	G 1	25
KyS 19	200	180	20		0.1	G 1	25
KyS 46	150	130	20		0.1	G 1	20
KyS 52	100	90	10		0.1	F 3	20

Petrographic report
(by Professor Dr. Josef Riederer)

27 samples were studied by means of thin sections in order to characterize the ceramic material by its mineralogical composition and fabric. The material proved to

be relatively heterogenous from the point of view of its microscopical properties. Three main groups could be distinguished: a siliceous, a siliceous-calcareous and a calcareous group. Further subdivisions were necessary because of considerable variation within the first two groups.



Fig. 40. KyS 39.



Fig. 41. KyS 33.

A. The siliceous ceramics

1. Dense and fine grained ceramics

- 1a. Dense ceramics with inclusions of volcanic rocks
KyS 5, KyS 13 (*Fig. 42*), KyS 25 and KyS 32 (*Fig. 43*)

KyS 5, KyS 13, KyS 25 and KyS 32 are almost identical in their microscopical properties. The matrix is dense and dark brown due to the high content of haematite and opaque ore minerals. The amount of temper is very low. There are only a few larger inclusions of volcanic rocks; these consist of Ca-rich plagioclases, pyroxenes and a relative high content of opaque ores. The ores are intensely intergrown with pyroxenes and sometimes appear to be deeply weathered. Apart from these small grains, there are only very small fragments of plagi-

clase and pyroxene, obviously broken off from larger fragments of volcanic rocks. The very low frequency of the rock fragments suggests that they are accidental inclusions rather than intended temper. The porosity is very low; there are only a few small pores filled with crystals of calcite. Calcite as a separate mineral was not observed, but some of the pores have the shape of foraminiferae which might have been destroyed at higher firing temperatures. The fabric of this type of terracotta is homogenous. Only in KyS 13 is a banded structure visible.

1b. Dense ceramics without inclusions

- KyS 23 (*Fig. 44*)

One sample, KyS 23, shows a completely dense matrix, almost devoid of minerals. The matrix is very light and

completely free of coloring iron compounds. Under very high magnification fine grains of quartz and dark minerals like biotite or amphiboles become visible. Some particles, where Ca-rich plagioclase and pyroxenes are intergrown, indicate that KyS 23 is related to 1a.

1c. Fine grained ceramics with inclusions of volcanic rocks
KyS 15, KyS 26, KyS 40a (*Fig. 45*), KyS 43, KyS 50 (*Fig. 46*)

The five samples are characterized by a fine grained matrix with high quantities of quartz, brown amphibole, biotite and haematite. Haematite gives the fabric its dark brown color. The amount of temper is very low; there are only a few larger inclusions of volcanic rocks of the type encountered in group 1a. This indicates that the clay of group 1c comes from the same region as that of 1a-b; there are only differences in the grain size of the base material. The fabric is homogeneous. The porosity is low and there are no traces of calcite; this indicates the close relationship of the dense and the fine grained samples of this group. KyS 50 differs slightly from the other four samples in having a lower content of amphiboles and biotite. KyS 40a is classified in this group, although its matrix shows a considerable higher content of fine quartzes.

2. Coarse grained ceramics
KyS 34 (*Fig. 47*)

Among all samples from Kythrea KyS 34 is an exception because it is comparatively coarse grained. The matrix is rich in haematite; its dark brown color is due to this mineral. The porosity is high. The pores are filled by crystals of calcite. The temper consists of quartz, Ca-rich plagioclase and colorless pyroxenes, similar to the constituents of the volcanic inclusions of group 1. There are no inclusions of volcanic rocks here, only rounded grains of a quartzite-like rock. The plagioclases are intensely weathered, sometimes completely transformed into sericite. Among the inclusions there are aggregates of clay minerals, obviously derived from other silicates. This indicates that weathered volcanic material with a higher content of not completely weathered silicates was used for making the terracottas; the material had not, as yet, been transformed into clay.

B. The siliceous-calcareous ceramics

1. The fine grained ceramics

KyS 2, KyS 21 (*Fig. 48*), KyS 41, KyS 49 (*Fig. 49*)

This group is related to A1 by its matrix, which shows amphiboles, biotite, quartz and haematite. In addition, one notes the more or less obvious occurrence of calcite. KyS 2 has little calcite; it resembles more a sample of the fine grained siliceous terracottas. In KyS 21 calcite dominates, but the grains are very small and have been heavily altered at high firing temperatures so that their original appearance cannot be reconstructed. KyS 41 shows some better preserved inclusions of calcite; both microfossils and calcite crystals occur as temper. As in the siliceous group, there are larger inclusions of volcanic material consisting primarily of Ca-rich plagioclase, of pyroxene and of ore minerals.

2. The fine grained ceramics with large inclusions of calcite
KyS 3 (*Fig. 50*), KyS 9, KyS 33, KyS 47, KyS 48

Five samples are fine grained, and stand very close in their properties to the fine grained siliceous group. The peculiarity of the group is that calcite is a predominant constituent in the temper and that calcite inclusions are sometimes larger than the normal fine temper. The matrix has as high a content of biotite, amphibole, haematite and opaque ores as the fine grained siliceous group, obviously because of the higher amount of calcite. Calcite has been altered at high firing temperatures. Infrequently, sections of fossils can be seen. Inclusions of volcanic rocks are rare, but fragments do occur—they show the close relationship of this group to other samples from the site. The group is in itself not very homogeneous; there is considerable variation in fabric, porosity, grain size and mineral distribution.

3. The coarse grained group
KyS 6 (*Fig. 51*)

KyS 6 forms a group in itself; its microscopical properties are different from the rest of the series. KyS 6 is characterized by large inclusions of tempering minerals. Relatively large fragments of calcite are present, apparently sections through larger shells and fossiliferous limestone. Quartz, intensely weathered plagioclase, large flakes of haematite and a few fragments of quartz-

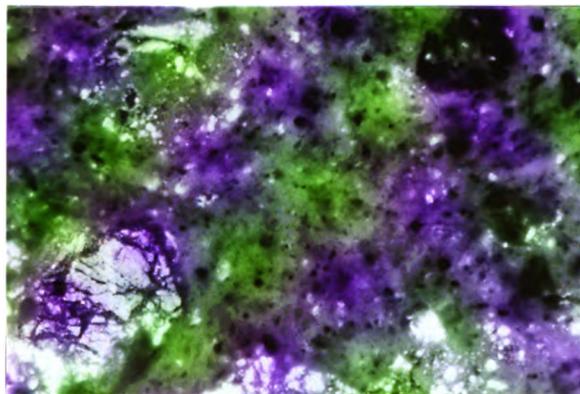


Fig. 42. Photomicrograph of KyS 13.

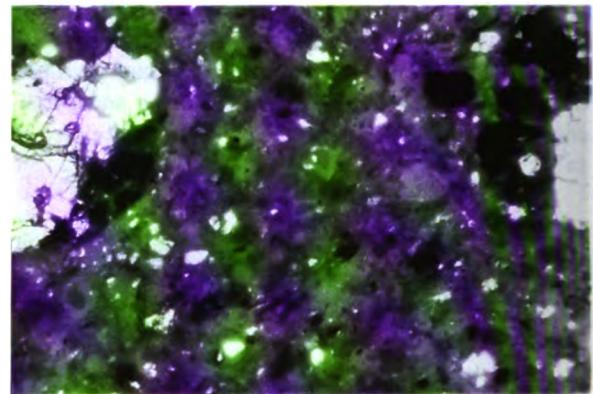


Fig. 43. Photomicrograph of KyS 32.

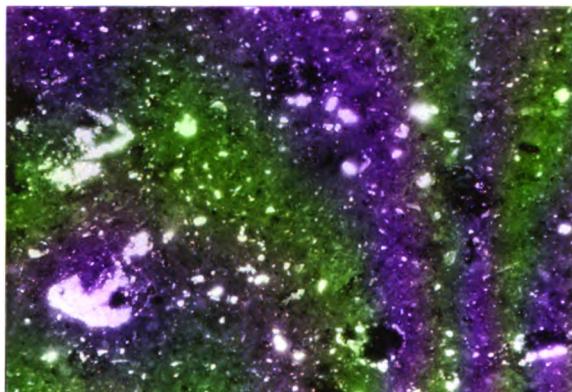


Fig. 44. Photomicrograph of KyS 23.

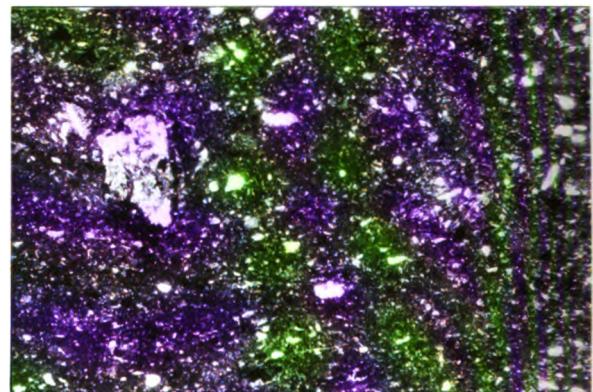


Fig. 45. Photomicrograph of KyS 40a.

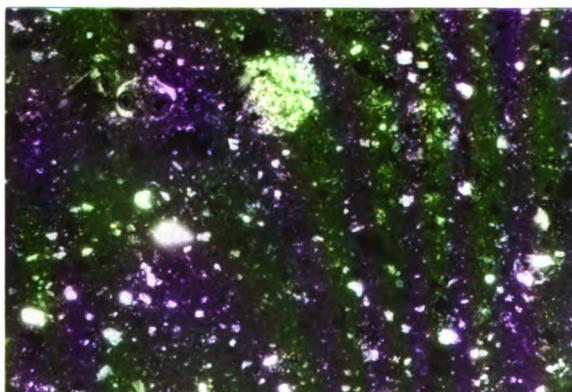


Fig. 46. Photomicrograph of KyS 50.

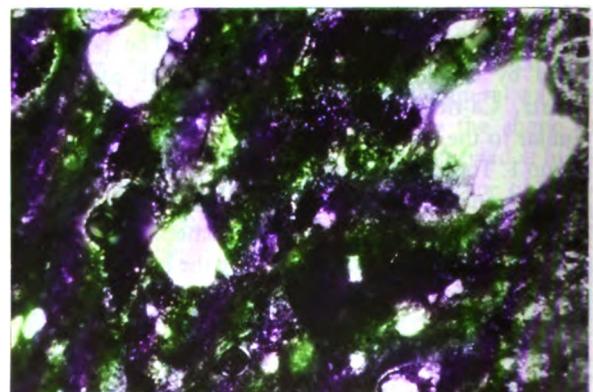


Fig. 47. Photomicrograph of KyS 34.

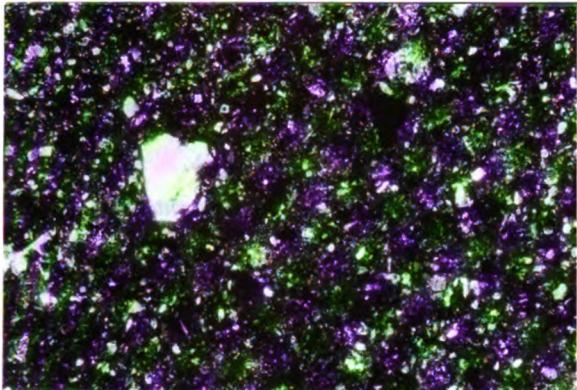


Fig. 48. Photomicrograph of KyS 21.

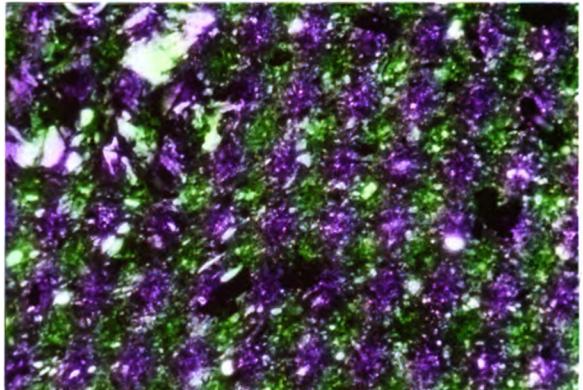


Fig. 49. Photomicrograph of KyS 49.

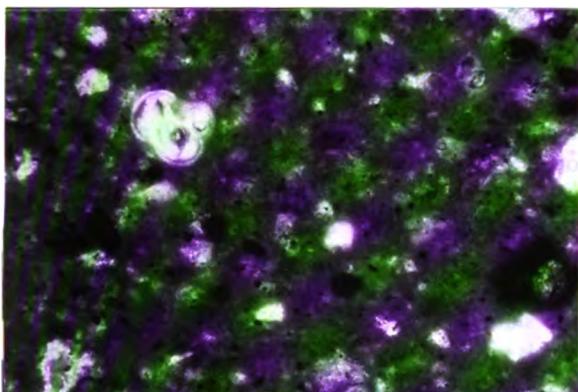


Fig. 50. Photomicrograph of KyS 3.

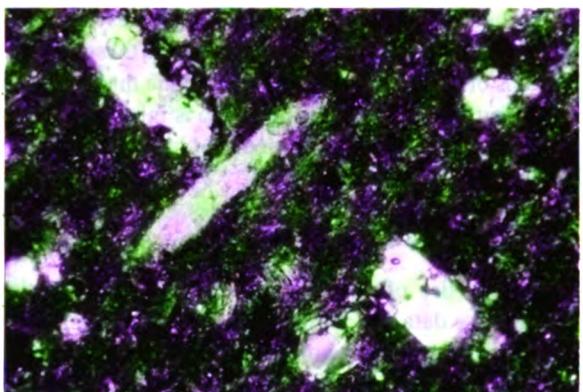


Fig. 51. Photomicrograph of KyS 6.

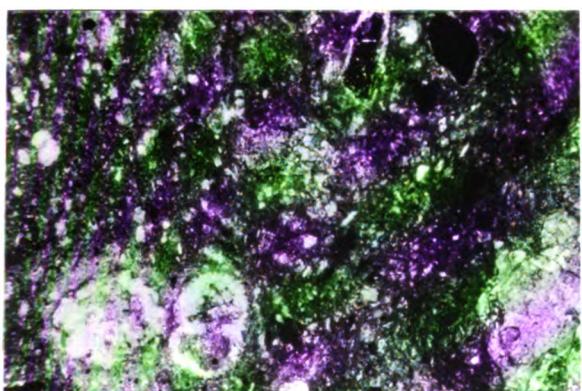


Fig. 52. Photomicrograph of KyS 10.

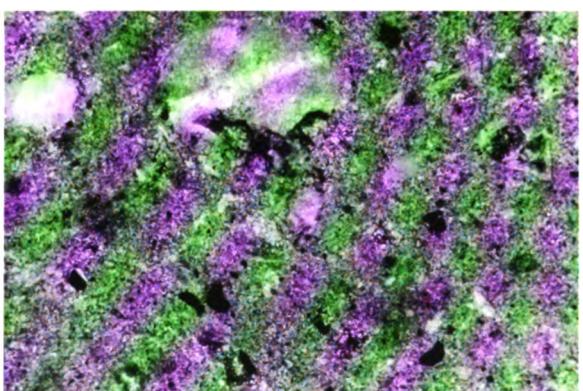


Fig. 53. Photomicrograph of KyS 14.

tic stone are also present. The ratio between calcite and the silicates is about 1:1. The fabric of this group is homogenous. The porosity is low.

C. The calcareous ceramics

KyS 10 (*Fig. 52*), KyS 14 (*Fig. 53*), KyS 18, KyS 19, KyS 46, KyS 52

Calcite is used as temper in this group. The content of silicates is low. Three samples, KyS 10, KyS 18, and KyS 19 are characterized by a relatively high occurrence of large inclusions of the type of volcanic rock evidenced in other groups from the site; here the Ca-plagioclase, the pyroxenes and the ore minerals are notable for their large size, often measuring several millimeters in diameter. Calcite is present mostly in the form of sections through various microfossils. The matrix is heterogeneous. Small calcite particles predominate; in a few instances it is obvious that these are the remains of fossils. Apart from calcite, the matrix shows small particles of biotite. The group is inhomogeneous due to differences in the frequency of inclusions and the density of the matrix.

The quantitative data

The properties of the samples become clearer if the quantitative data are considered. *Table 6* lists the number of grains per square millimeter (grain number), the grain size distribution, maximum grain size, fabric type and percentage of temper.⁷⁵

Conclusion

Although the terracotta samples studied are different in their mineralogical properties, they share common features which indicate a common origin:

- a. They all contain inclusions of volcanic rocks, or of minerals which have been derived, with certainty, from the weathering of these volcanic rocks.
- b. They contain calcite, mainly in microfossils. Although a calcite-free siliceous group has been distinguished, its matrix shows very close similarities to the rest of the samples. Even the two coarser grained samples, KyS 6 and KyS 34, are not far in their properties from the rest of the samples. The calcitic group is very different in composition from the siliceous group, suggesting a certain difference in ori-

gin. However, the volcanic particles present in both groups prove their related origin. The microscopically visible differences within the calcareous group might be due to a heterogeneous geological environment at the place of origin.

Analysis of pigments in painted terracottas (with Anna Svärdh)

Black, brown and red paints were used for both small and large scale terracottas. In most cases, especially in the small-scale terracottas, which had already been washed,⁷⁶ only faint traces of color could be seen, mostly in cracks of the clay.

Samples were taken from the following terracottas:
Black: KyS 1, KyS 7, KyS 11, KyS 12, KyS 21, KyS 44, KyS 46.

Brown: KyS 35.

Red: KyS 12, KyS 51, KyS 52.

The area of the breasts of KyS 8 (*Fig. 9*) and the thighs of KyS 27 (*Fig. 29f*) have traces of red, while the dress of KyS 12 (*Fig. 27c*) is painted in solid red. Black is preserved on the hair of KyS 7 (*Fig. 54*) and KyS 11 (*Fig. 5b*); on the lower sides and across the lowest part of the dress on KyS 1 (*Fig. 2a*) and sporadically along the sides of KyS 21 (*Fig. 27f*). Two parallel brown bands are seen along the sides of KyS 35 (*Fig. 29h*).

Of the large-scale terracottas KyS 44 (*Fig. 37b*) shows traces of black. In KyS 46 (*Fig. 37a*) the skin is painted red; the eyebrows and the spirals black. KyS 51 (*Fig. 38c*) and KyS 52 (*Fig. 38a*) painted in solid red.



Fig. 54. KyS 7.

KyS 1

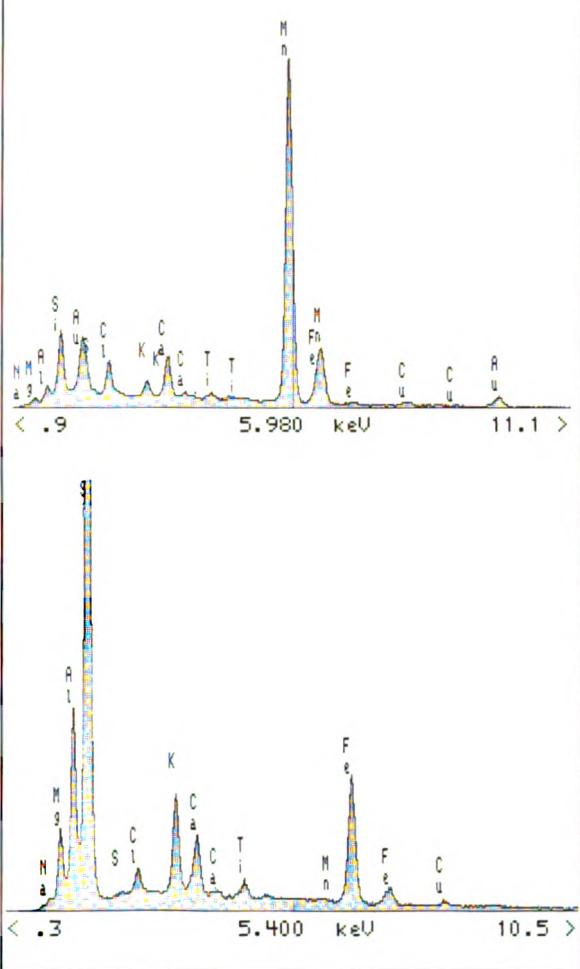


Fig. 55. KyS 1. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests *not* significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Cl and Ca. Insufficient data for S.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment; $S, Mn \neq 0 > 2$ Sigma in the clay.

Method

Pigment samples were analyzed using a scanning electron microscope with an EDX unit (Jeol JSM-8405). Sampling was restricted to material from which a good sample could be obtained. Extreme caution was exercised in taking a sample free of the underlying clay layer. A sample of clay, consisting again of several grains, was taken from each piece sampled for color. This was deemed necessary in order to gain a measure

KyS 7

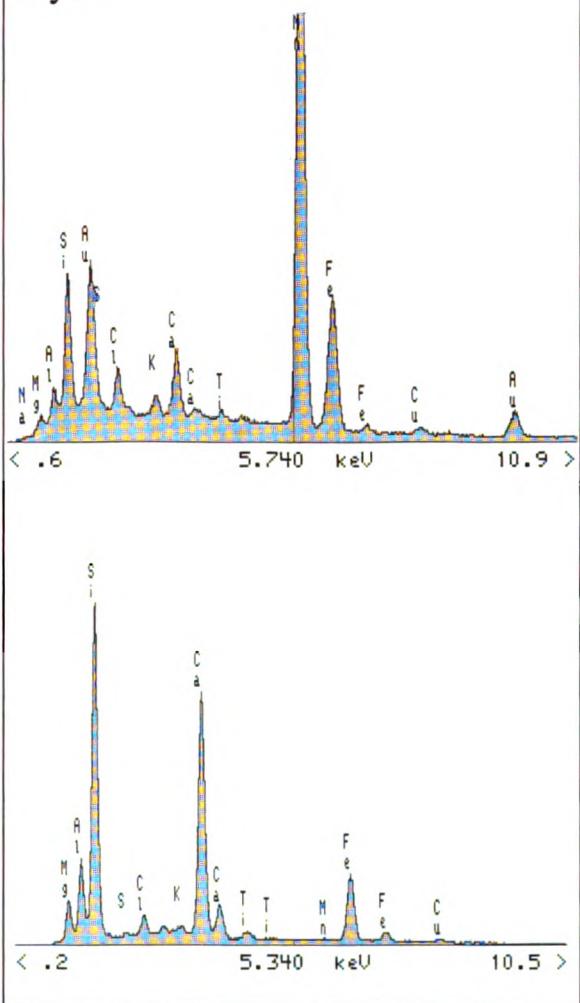


Fig. 56. KyS 7. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests *not* significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Cl, K, Na. Insufficient data for S.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S, Na = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment.

of comparison between the clay and the pigment on the same object. At least three different trials over different parts of the selected sample were made to each sample.

The analytical results

Certain elements were either absent or in concentrations falling below the detection limit of the instrument. In the case of pigments sulfur (S) was consistently

KyS 11

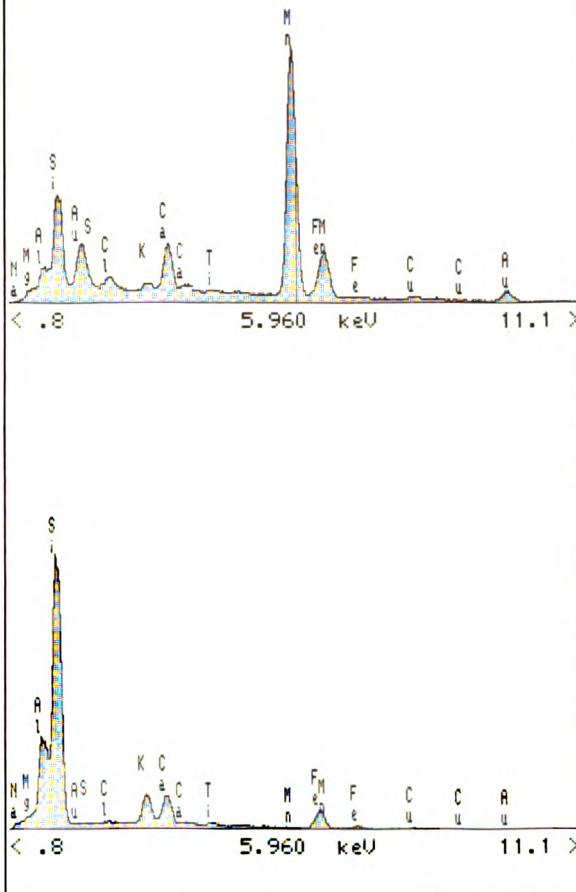


Fig. 57. KyS 11. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests between the black pigment and clay *not* significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Mg, Ca, Cu. Insufficient data for S.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra S, Na = 0 < 2 Sigma in the pigment; Mn, Mg, S = 0 < 2 Sigma in the clay.

absent in all samples apart from isolated cases in KyS 35, KyS 51 and KyS 52. In the case of clays, sulfur (S) and sodium (Na) were absent from KyS 12 and KyS 35.

Several elements were present in some but not detected with certainty in every trial of the same sample, suggesting that they might occur in concentrations very close to the detection limit of the scanning electron microscope. These were as follows. For the pigments: sodium (Na) in KyS 1, KyS 7, KyS 11, KyS 12 (black),

KyS 12

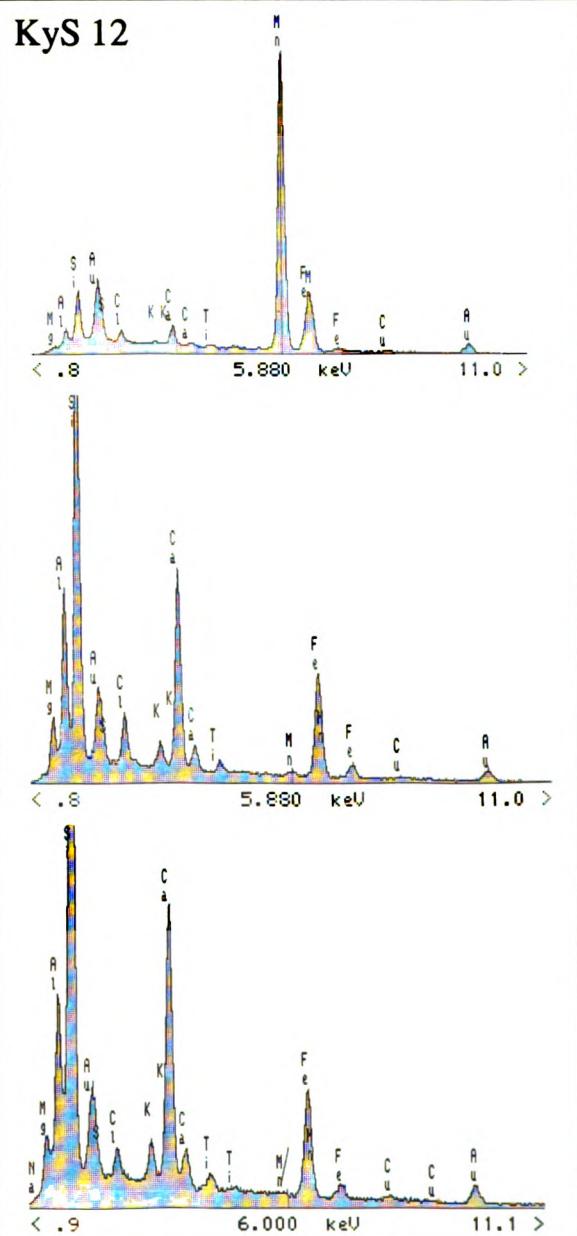


Fig. 58. KyS 12. Black pigment (top), red pigment (middle) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). Comparisons between the black pigment and clay. T-tests *not* significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Fe, Cl. Insufficient data for S, Na..

Comparisons between the red pigment and clay. T-tests not significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Mg, Si, K, Ti. Insufficient data for S, Mn, Na.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra S = 0 < 2 Sigma in the black pigment; Na = 0 < 2 Sigma in both pigments and the clay.

KyS 21

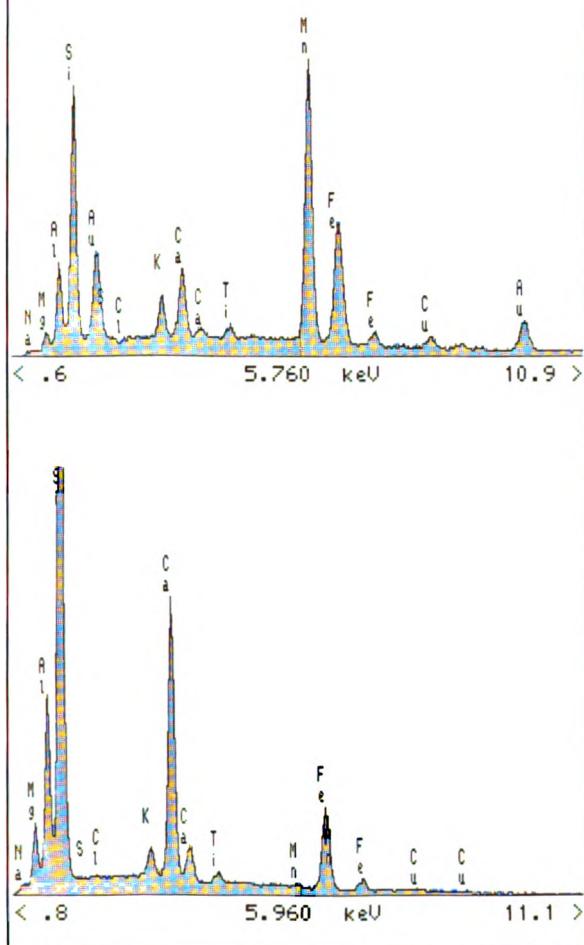


Fig. 59. KyS 21. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Mn, Al, Si, Cl, Ca, Cu.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S, Na = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment; $S, Cl = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the clay.

KyS 12 (red), KyS 21, KyS 35, KyS 52; titanium (Ti) in KyS 11; manganese (Mn) in KyS 12 (red), KyS 51 and KyS 52. For the clays: sulfur (S) in KyS 1, KyS 7, KyS 11, KyS 21, KyS 44, KyS 51 and KyS 52; sodium (Na) in KyS 7, KyS 11; manganese (Mn) in KyS 1, KyS 7, KyS 11, KyS 52; magnesium (Mg) and chlorine (Cl) in KyS 11; Cl in KyS 21; Mg in KyS 35; copper (Cu) in KyS 52.

The analytical results (percentage by weight for each element present) for pigment and clay for each artefact

KyS 35

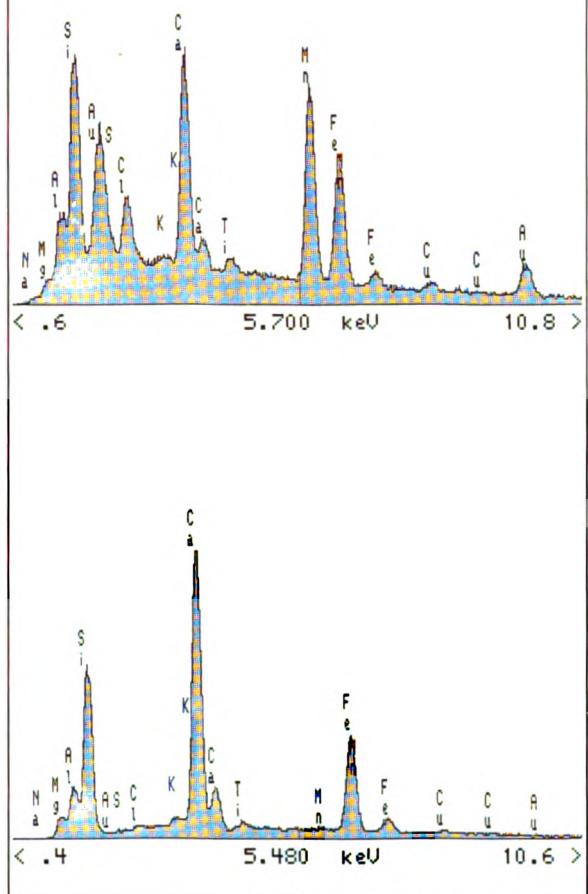


Fig. 60. KyS 35. Brown pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Mn and Mg.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment; $Na = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the clay.

were compared statistically with the t-test using pooled variances. A representative spectrum for pigment and clay for each artefact is illustrated in Figs. 55–64; the results of the t-tests are shown in the figure captions.

Conclusions

High contents of manganese (Mn) and iron (Fe) characterize the black and brown pigments (Figs. 55–62).⁷⁷ The ratio of Mn to Fe in the black and brown pigments

KyS 44

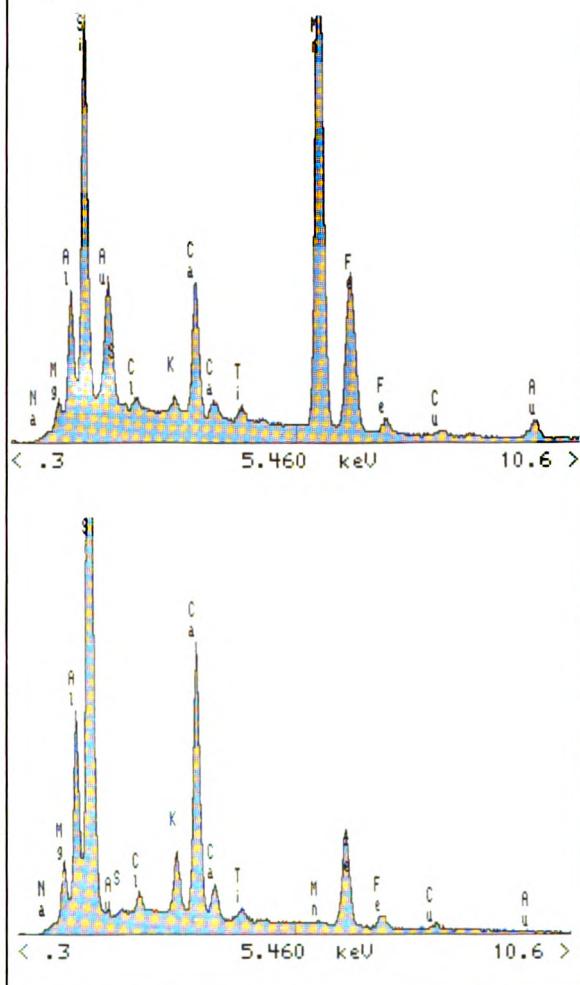


Fig. 61. KyS 44. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Mn, Si, K, Ca. Insufficient data for S.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment and the clay.

varies (Fig. 65), giving a measure of diversity within this pigment group. KyS 35 diverges from the rest of the group in having significantly lower Mn contents. Values for KyS 35 cluster closest to the Fe-axis. In all other pigments, Mn occurs in significantly higher concentrations than Fe. Points corresponding to KyS 1 cluster in the upper left side of the graph. KyS 1 shows the highest Mn and lowest Fe contents. Points corresponding to KyS 7, KyS 11 and KyS 46 form a group in a

KyS 46

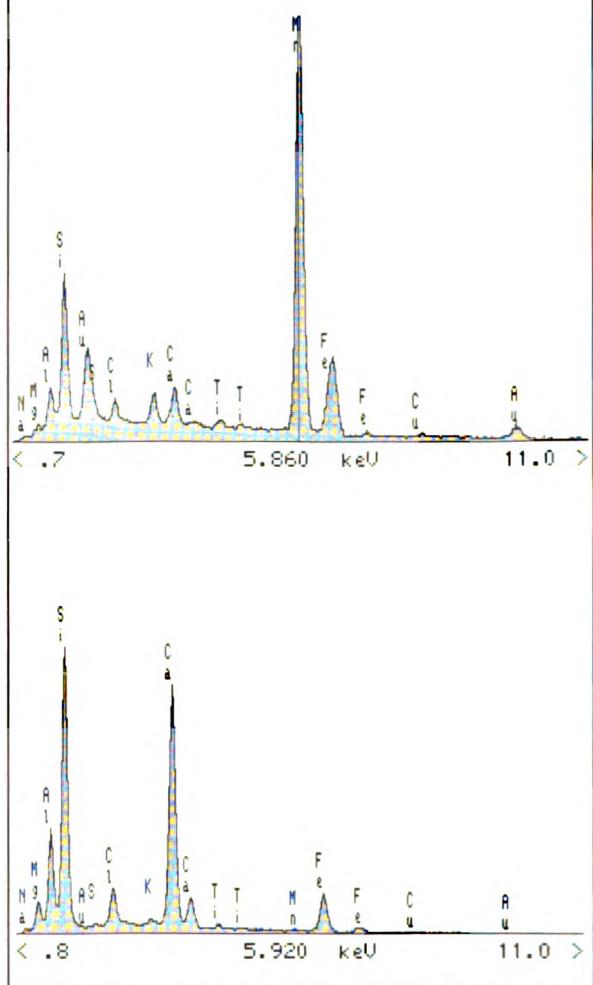


Fig. 62. KyS 46. Black pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests *not* significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Cl, Ti, Na.

In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $S = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment.

common cluster to the right of KyS 1 points. Considerable variation in the content of Fe is seen in the data for KyS 12 (black). In KyS 21 both the content of Mn and Fe vary significantly; the variation range is smaller for KyS 44. The heterogeneity of the trials for KyS 12, KyS 21 and KyS 44, if not due to experimental reasons, might imply lack of homogeneity in the coloring agents (caused by inadequate mixing?).

The red pigments show a high iron (Fe) content (Fig.

KyS 51

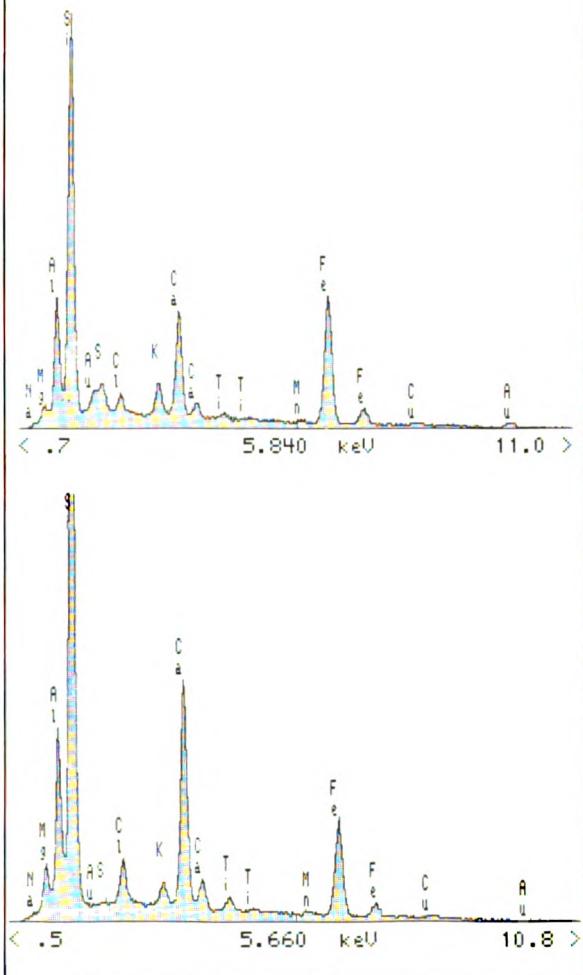


Fig. 63. KyS 51. Red pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests significant ($\alpha = .05$) for Al, K and Cu.

KyS 52

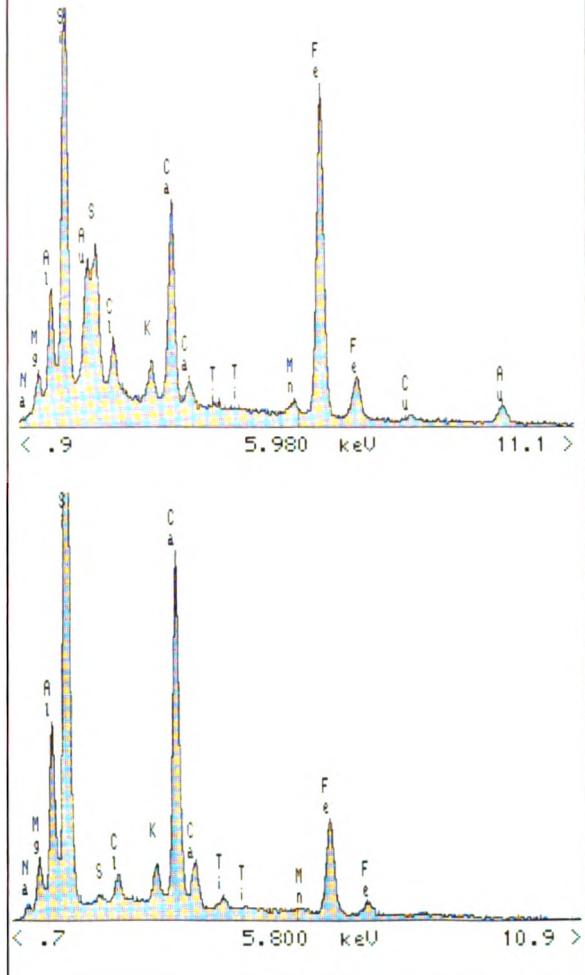


Fig. 64. KyS 52. Red pigment (top) and underlying layer of clay (bottom). T-tests not significant ($\alpha = .05$) for S, Ti, Na, Cu, Mn.

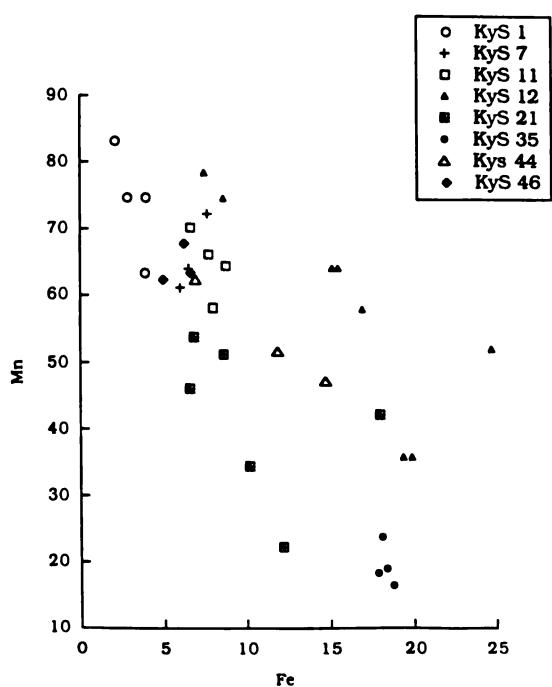
In the analytical data for the illustrated spectra $Na = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment; $S \neq 0 > 2$ Sigma in the clay.

58, 63–64). Of particular interest is the high iron content of the corresponding clays. Fig. 66 plots the iron content for each clay and pigment against the first three principal components calculated on the contents of elements magnesium (Mg), aluminium (Al), silicon (Si), calcium (Ca), titanium (Ti) and manganese (Mn) in clays and red pigments. The components account collectively for 76.6 % of the variation of the data. KyS 51 is characterized by the highest iron concentration; data

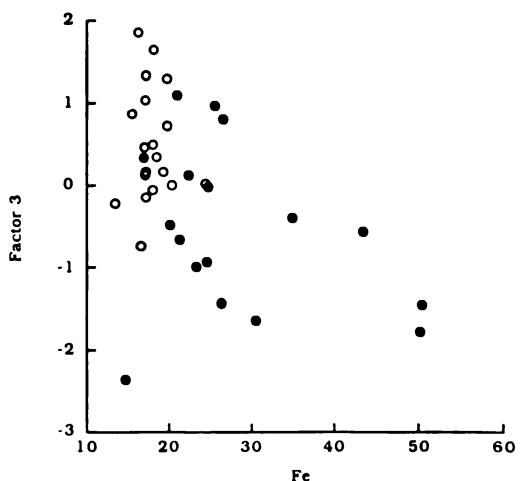
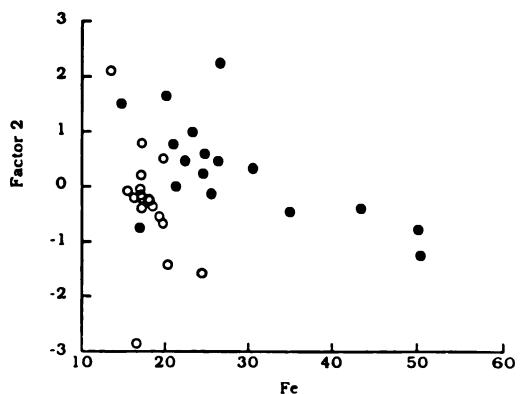
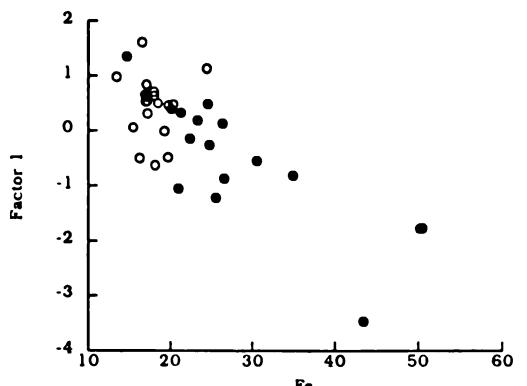
for all clays and for KyS 12 (red) and KyS 51 cluster together, with the pigments showing slightly higher iron contents. Worth noting in this respect is that the t-test for Fe for KyS 51 of the pigment versus the clay is above the level of significance ($p = .08$).

Fig. 67 shows the results of a discriminant function accounting for the variation in the contents of Mg, Al, Si, Ca, Ti, Fe and Mn in clays and pigments in terms of a classification factor and a constant. The results are

Black pigments



Red pigments and corresponding clays



● Red pigment
○ Clay

Fig. 65. Scatter plot of Mn versus Fe (%) in the black and brown pigments.

highly significant—yielding F-statistics with $p = .000$ (Wilks' Lamda, Phillai Trace, Hotelling-Lawley Trace). The classification of the data using the discriminant function is almost perfect. Fig. 67, top, tabulates the actual group membership against the predicted. In Fig. 67, bottom, the canonical scores for each trial are plotted against a dummy variable created for graphing purposes by randomly assigning an integer number from the interval [1,9] to each case. Clays and pigments are graphed distinct from each other. The red pigments have positive canonical scores; the clays negative.

Fig. 66. Plotting of the three first principal components (here denoted as factors) of red pigments and corresponding clays against Fe (% by weight). The principal components were estimated using the elements Mg, Al, Si, Ca, Ti and Mn. The variation in the data accounted by the factors is as follows: Factor 1, 29.5%; Factor 2, 26.7%; Factor 3, 21.4%.

Actual (rows) versus predicted (columns) groupings

	C	R	Total
C	18	1	19
R	0	17	17
Total	18	18	36

R - Red pigment
C - Clay

Discriminant function

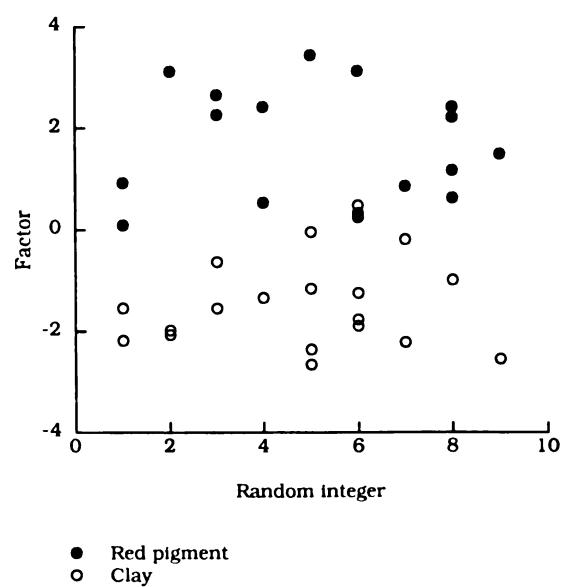


Fig. 67. Results of discriminant analysis discriminating between red pigments and their corresponding clays. Top. Table of frequencies of actual versus predicted membership. Bottom. Plotting of factor loadings versus a dummy variable randomly assigning an integer from the interval [1,9] to each case.

4. CATALOGUE

Unless otherwise noted, each entry corresponds to a fragment in one piece.

Small-scale figurines

The entries of the catalogue record the following:

- a. Depth of mold and/or quality of cast.
- b. Appearance of back side. The presence of incision marks is not recorded – it is not clear whether they are the result of the original surface treatment at production or subsequent cleaning. The term “spatula” marks describes the mark on the clay surface rather than the type of tool used.
- c. Surface treatment (wash, color).
- d. Petrographic grouping, if available.
- e. Hardness, as measured on the Moss scale. Test taken on a break.
- f. Color, as the closest approximation to the Munsell charts. Readings taken in artificial light.
- g. H: maximum height; W: maximum width or width at the shoulders; T: thickness of mold measured from below the breasts to the back. When the breasts are not preserved, the measurement is taken at the upper break. Fixed points are poorly defined in most of the figurines preserving the face. Repeated measurements show a relatively high standard deviation and for this reason they are omitted. All measurements are in cm.
- h. Attribution to a series.

Ideally, the quality of a cast should give an indication of the age of the mold—worn molds give bad casts, with poor definition of detail. Nevertheless, apart from the condition of the mold, a combination of factors affect final resolution in detail.

The character of the treatment of the back side is recorded with the intent to define patterns in modelling procedures which might prove diagnostic of authorship.

- 1. Figurine almost complete. Most of left half of head missing. Face badly damaged (Figs. 2a, 30a).
- a. Rather flat. Poor definition of jewelry and hand.
- b. Flat, slightly tilted forward at the head. Even surface, most probably worked with a tool.
- c. No wash. Traces of black paint (lower part of dress). Traces of red paint (left arm).
- d. –
- e. Hardness 2.
- f. Clay 5YR 6/4 (front), 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted) (back); red 10R 4/6; black 2.5YR 3/0.
- g. H: 22.9; W: 5.6; T: 1.9.
- h. Generalized Basic Series.

2. Middle part of figurine, preserved from above the hands to the ears. Face damaged (*Fig. 28*).
 a. Deep mold. Mediocre definition of jewelry.
 b. Unworked. Surface convex and undulating.
 c. Wash on both sides. Very faint traces of red on the body.
 d. Group B1.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 7.5YR 8/4-7/4; wash 10YR 8/3 (-2.5Y 8/4)—more green.
 g. H: 11.8; W: 5.5; T: 3.0.
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
3. Figurine almost complete. Lower part and feet missing (*Figs. 2b, 30b*).
 a. Flat mold. Relatively poor definition of detail.
 b. Head slightly tilted forward. Flat and even surface, clearly worked with a tool. "Spatula" marks along the edges.
 c. Wash on both sides. Very faint traces of red, especially on the right side.
 d. Group B2.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/3.
 g. H: 18.3; W: 4.3; T: 1.6.
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
4. Head and shoulders of figurine. Surface badly abraded. No sculptural details visible (*Figs. 5a, 32a*).
 a. —
 b. Surface even, unworked, and slightly convex on the upper side.
 c. Wash.
 d. —
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 5YR 7/6 (back), 7.5YR 8/4-7/4 (front); break 2.5YR 6/6.
 g. H: 8.8; W: 5.1; T: 3.0 (break).
5. Upper half of figurine. Surface below the breasts chipped on the front side (*Fig. 4*).
 a. Deep mold. Mediocre definition of hair and jewelry.
 b. Even, unworked. Surface slightly convex and undulating.
 c. Homogenous surface color. Traces of red (earrings, neck and body).
 d. Group A1a.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Surface 10YR 8/3; red 10R 4/6.
 g. H: 10.4; W: 5.7; T: 3.7 (on the bird).
6. Upper half of figurine. Face slightly abraded (*Fig. 7*).
 a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail.
 b. Flat, head slightly tilted forward. Surface even, clearly worked with a tool. Contour along the sides defined with "spatula" marks.
 c. Wash, completely effaced from the front.
 d. Group B3.
 e. Hardness 3.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 8/4.
 g. H: 10.0; W: 5.1; T: 2.0.
7. Head and neck of figurine. Surface worn (*Fig. 54*).
 a. Deep mold. Uneven definition.
- b. Flat, slightly undulating. Worked by hand. Shallow groove running longitudinally along the center.
 c. Homogenous surface color. Traces of black (hair) and red (earrings) paint.
 d. —
 e. Hardness 1.
 f. Surface 10YR 8/3; red 7.5R 4/8; black 2.5YR 3/0.
 g. H: 6.4; W: 5.0 (max); T: 2.0 (break)
- Kys 7 presents an uncommon type.⁷⁸
8. Upper half of figurine. Facial features not clear (*Fig. 9, 31c*).
 a. Deep mold. Poor definition of face.
 b. Flat, with shallow grooves and cavities. Unworked
 c. Traces of wash, mostly on the face. Traces of red on the body.
 d. —
 e. Hardness 2 (soft).
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (very diluted); wash 10YR 8/3.
 g. H: 9.0; W: 5.5; T: 2.3.
9. Upper half of figurine. Facial features not clear (*Fig. 13*).
 a. Not a very deep mold. Mediocre definition.
 b. Concave with cavity in the back side of the head. Even surface, clearly worked with a tool. Figurine carelessly cut along the edge of the mold.
 c. Wash on both sides.
 d. Group B2.
 e. Hardness 4.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/3, 7.5YR 8/4.
 g. H: 14.0; W: 7.4; T: 3.0 (lower edge of tambourine).
10. Upper and middle body of figurine (*Fig. 14*).
 a. Deep mold. Good definition.
 b. Flat and even surface, clearly worked with a tool. Figurine cut carefully along the edge of the mold.
 c. Wash on both sides.
 d. Group C.
 e. Hardness 3.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6-6/8; wash 10YR 8/3.
 g. H: 13.5; W: 9.3; T: 3.3 (at break).
11. Body of figurine from roughly below the waist to the base of the neck. Right shoulder missing. Surface below pendant broken away (*Figs. 5b, 32b*).
 a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail.
 b. Slightly concave. Even surface. No toolmarks.
 c. Homogeneous surface color. Red on the dress, black on the hair.
 d. —
 e. Hardness 3.
 f. Clay 7.5YR 7/4; surface 5YR 7/4; red 10R 4/6; black 2.5YR 3/0.
 g. H: 7.0; W: 6.0 (max); T: 3.7 (on pendant).
 h. Same series as KyS 5.
12. Upper half of body of figurine. Neck and left shoulder missing (*Figs. 27c, 31a*).
 a. Flat mold. Poor definition of jewelry.

- b. Flat, basically even, but with broad "spatula" marks, especially on the sides.
 c. Wash on the back side; solid red paint on the front. Traces of black on the wrists.
 d. –
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted); red 10R 4/6; black 2.5YR 3/0.
 g. H: 7.7; W: 5.5; T: 1.9.
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
13. Body of figurine from the knees to slightly above the breasts (*Figs. 27b, 31b*).
 a. Flat mold. Mediocre definition.
 b. Flat and even, clearly worked with a tool.
 c. Wash, only on the front. Traces of red paint on the body.
 d. Group A1a.
 e. Hardness 2 (back); 3 (front).
 f. Surface 2.5Y 7/2 (front), 7.5YR 7/4 (back); red 7.5R 4/8.
 g. H: 10.5; W: 5.5; T: 1.9.
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
14. Upper and middle body of figurine (*Fig. 17*).
 a. Not a very deep mold. Relatively good definition.
 b. Basically flat and even. Horizontal toolmarks.
 c. Wash preserved only on the back side. Very faint traces of red on the dress.
 d. Group C.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; red 10R 4/6.
 g. H: 9.4; W: 5.5; T: 1.9.
15. Body of figurine preserved from the knees up to the base of the neck. Left arm missing (*Fig. 19*).
 a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail.
 b. Flat and even, clearly worked with a tool.
 c. Traces of black paint on the pectoral.
 d. Group A1c.
 e. Hardness 2 (soft).
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 and 10R 6/6 (diluted); black 2.5YR 3/0.
 g. H: 13.4; W: 6.5; T: 2.6.
16. Upper half of body of figurine. Considerable part below the left shoulder missing (*Figs. 5d, 32d*).
 a. Flat mold. Mediocre definition of detail.
 b. Concave. Even surface, without any toolmarks.
 c. No wash. Very faint traces of red.
 d. –
 e. Hardness 2 (soft).
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface SYR 7/6 (very diluted).
 g. H: 8.8; W: 6.1; T: 1.8.
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
17. Body of figurine preserved from the knees up to above the breasts. Most of left part missing. Surface abraded (*Figs. 5c, 32c*).
 a. Not a very deep mold. Mediocre definition of detail.
 b. Flat and even. No toolmarks.
 c. No wash. Very faint traces of red.
 d. –
 e. Hardness 2 (soft).
- f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6.
 g. H: 7.5; W: 4.0 (max); T: 2.1.
18. Body of figurine preserved from the knees to below the breasts. Part of left arm and hand missing. Mended from several fragments (*Figs. 27e, 31d*).
 a. Flat mold. Good definition of detail.
 b. Even, concave surface, with almost an angle running along the middle. Clearly worked with a tool. "Spatula" marks along the sides.
 c. Wash on the front side.
 d. Group C.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 8/4–7/4.
 g. H: 10.8; W: 6.1 (max); T: 1.9 (upper break).
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
19. Body of figurine preserved from slightly above the knees to below the breasts. Surface worn (*Figs. 27g, 31e*).
 a. Flat mold.
 b. Concave and even surface.
 c. Wash on both sides.
 d. Group C.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 7.5YR 8/4–7/4.
 g. H: 9.3; W: 4.7 (upper break); T: 1.8 (upper break).
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
20. Body of figurine preserved from above the knees to below the breasts. Surface pitted (*Fig. 27d*).
 a. Flat mold. Mediocre definition of detail.
 b. Flat and even. No toolmarks.
 c. No wash.
 d. –
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
 g. H: 7.9; W: 5.1 (max); T: 2.8 (upper break).
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
21. Body of figurine preserved from above the knees to below the breasts. Surface somewhat pitted (*Fig. 27f*).
 a. Flat mold. Poor definition of detail.
 b. Relatively flat, though slightly undulating surface. Extra clay left past the edge of the mold on the sides creating the impression that the figurine rests on a plaque.
 c. Wash on both sides. Traces of black paint (along the sides).
 d. Group B1.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Break 10R 6/4; wash 10YR 8/3; black 2.5YR 3/0.
 g. H: 12.3; W: 5.6 (max); T: 2.9 (upper break).
 h. Generalized Basic Series.
22. Body of figurine preserved from below the knees to above the breasts. Surface of left side partly abraded. Broken at lower part (*Fig. 27a*).
 a. Flat mold. Mediocre definition of detail.
 b. Flat, almost even. Some clay lumps left on the upper back side.
 c. No wash.
 d. –

- e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 7.5YR 8/4.
g. H: 14.0; W: 5.5; T: 2.3.
h. Generalized Basic Series.
23. Lower half of figurine. Feet missing (*Fig. 29b*).
a. Flat mold.
b. Flat, even, clearly worked with a tool.
c. Homogenous surface color. Traces of red paint.
d. Group A1b.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Break 10R 8/4; surface 2.5Y 8/2.
g. H: 10.3; W: 5.6 (max); T: 2.0 (upper break).
h. Generalized Basic Series.
24. Lower body of figurine. Feet and right hand missing (*Fig. 29e*).
a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail. "Spatula" marks on the sides.
b. Concave. Vertical incisions.
c. Wash on both sides.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 7.5YR 8/4.
g. H: 12.2; W: 6.6 (max); T: 1.8 (upper break).
- The legs in this fragment are well defined, unlike in figurines of the Generalized Basic Series.⁷⁹
25. Body of figurine preserved from halfway down the thighs to the feet. Feet partly missing (*Fig. 29g*).
a. Flat mold.
b. Even, slightly convex surface. "Spatula" marks on the right side.
c. Wash on both sides.
d. Group A1a.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 7.5YR 8/4–7/4.
g. H: 10.7; W: 6.0 (max); T: 3.0 (break).
h. Generalized Basic Series.
26. Thighs of figurine (*Fig. 29a*).
a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail.
b. Flat and even. Probably worked with a tool.
c. Wash ?
d. Group A1c.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 5YR 7/4.
g. H: 9.2; W: 8.7 (max); T: 3.5 (upper break).
h. Generalized Basic Series.
27. Right hand and part of upper thighs of figurine. Left section partly missing (*Fig. 29f*).
a. Deep (?) mold.
b. Flat and even. Probably worked with a tool.
c. Wash on both sides. Traces of black and red paint (body).
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted); surface 7.5YR 7/4–8/4; red 7.5R 4/6; black 7.5YR 5/2.
g. H: 4.7; W: 4.9 (max); T: 2.3 (upper break).
28. Body of figurine preserved from below the hands to above the feet (*Fig. 22b*).
a. –
b. Slightly concave, almost even. No toolmarks.
c. Wash on both sides. Traces of red (left side).
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 7.5YR 8/4.
g. H: 8.2; W: 4.8 (max); T: 1.6 (upper break).
29. Body of figurine preserved from the thighs to above the feet (*Fig. 22a*).
a. –
b. Flat. Uneven, unworked surface with discontinuous lumps of clay.
c. No wash.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 8.3; W: 5.9 (max); T: 2.2 (upper break).
30. Body of figurine preserved from the feet up to the thighs. Right hand missing (*Fig. 22e*).
a. Deep (?) mold.
b. Flat, uneven, unworked surface.
c. No wash.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. 2.5YR 6/6.
g. H: 6.1; W: 2.8 (max); T: 1.9 (upper break).
31. Lowest third of body of figurine. Feet partly missing (*Fig. 22d*).
a. –
b. Flat, almost even.
c. Homogeneous surface color. Very faint traces of red.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. 7.5YR 8/4–8/6.
g. H: 4.2; W 2.2 (max, on body); T 1.1 (upper break).
- KyS 31 is the smallest terracotta in this assemblage.
32. Feet and part of garment of figurine (*Fig. 22c*).
a. Deep mold.
b. Flat and even. Clay past the limits of the mold, creating the impression that the figurine rests on a plaque.
c. Apparently no wash.
d. Group A1a.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 and 10R 6/6.
g. H: 7.5; W: 3.7 (max); T: 2.4 (break).
33. Feet of figurine (*Fig. 41*).
a. Mediocre definition.
b. Uneven, undulating surface with some clay lumps. Unworked.
c. Probably thin wash. Traces of red paint.

- d. Group B2.
e. Hardness 2 (surface), 3 (break).
f. Clay 10R 6/6; surface 5YR 7-8/4; red 7.5R 4/6, 3/6.
g. H: 4.2; W: 5.5 (max); L: 7.0.
34. Middle and lower body of figurine. Fragment not clear (*Fig. 29d*).
a. –
b. Even and slightly convex.
c. Surface covered with a yellowish layer.
d. Group A2.
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 5YR 7/6.
g. H: 8.6; W: 5.7; T: 3.2 (upper break).
35. Part of lower body? of figurine. Fragment not clear (*Fig. 29h*).
a. Mediocre.
b. Even, very slightly convex. Rounded sides.
c. Traces of wash. Thick brown band along each side.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 5YR 7/4; surface 7.5YR 8/4-7/4; brown 10R 4/3.
g. H: 8.6; W: 6.5; T: 2.9.
36. Lower part of body of figurine. Feet missing (*Fig. 29c*).
a. –
b. Almost flat and even, but slightly undulating. Unworked.
c. Homogenous surface color.
d. –
e. Hardness 2.
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; surface 7.5YR 8/4.
g. H: 6.8; W: 5.0 (max); T: 2.7 (top).
37. Body of female terracotta with arms extended. Lower part of body and most of left arm missing. Broken along the right side of the body (*Figs. 20a-b*).
a. Front side probably cast. Good definition of detail.
b. Area of body slightly convex; concave at lower arms. Hand-made incisions form a decorative pattern.
c. Wash, surviving best on the front. Traces of red in the incisions on the back side.
d. –
e. Hardness 2 (clay), 3 (wash).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 5YR 8/3.
g. H: 7.3; W: 8.2 (max); T: 1.7.
38. Body of figurine (*Figs. 21a-b*).
a. Deep mold. Good definition of detail.
b. Roughly flat, but undulating surface. Unworked.
c. Wash on both sides.
d. –
e. Hardness 2 (hard).
f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 8/4.
g. H: 9.5; W: 2.8; T: 1.7.
- The underside of KyS 38 is worked into a base. A small section of it at the back is missing. The figurine cannot stand on its own now.
39. Flute player wearing a conical headdress. Cylindrical body, roughly splayed base (*Fig. 40*).
a. –
b. –
c. Homogeneous surface color.
d. –
e. Hardness 3.
f. Surface 10YR 8/3 (more green).
g. H: 9.0 – preserved to almost actual height; W: 4.7 (arms); T: 2.0 (waist).

KyS 39 is solid and handmade. The gender of the piece cannot be established with certainty. One notes that the conical headdress is typical of male figurines of the Archaic period. Similar flute players, though more crude in execution, form part of the terracotta assemblage at Ajios Iakovos, a site which also belongs to the Arsos-Samos group.

Large-scale terracottas

The catalogue entries are as follows:

- a. Technique
- b. Surface treatment
- c. Petrographic grouping, if available
- d. Hardness on the Moss scale. Test taken on a break.
- e. Color as the closest approximation to the Munsell soil charts.
- f. H: height (max); W: width (max); T: thickness.

Only fragments which are relatively clear or preserve considerable amount of color are presented below. Several small fragments from medium and large-scale terracottas have not been included in the catalogue; they represent body fragments built by coiling or thrown on the wheel.

- 40a. Left shoulder and part of right back of a lifesize statue. The hair falls in 4 tresses on the shoulder at the front. At the back its edge is carefully rendered in relief. The first bead of a necklace below the tresses. Pieced together from a large number of fragments (*Fig. 33a*).
a. The surface on the interior could not be properly cleaned. The uniformity in thickness at the breaks suggests either careful coiling or the use of the wheel. Joints of juxtaposed clay lumps form the curve of the shoulders. Joints of coils are visible on the interior surface of the tresses and at the neck. Grooves for rendering the tresses; bead of necklace added.
b. No paint, no wash.
c. Group A1c.
d. Hardness 2 (soft).
e. Clay: 5YR 6/6.
f. H: 15.5; L: 31.2; W: 16.4.

40b. Necklace and part of the chest of 1a. Necklace made of biconical beads; larger oval pendant in the middle (*Fig. 33b*).
a. Not clear. Seams on interior suggest coiling.
b. No wash. Traces of red paint.

- c. –
d. Hardness 2 (soft).
e. Clay: 5YR 7/6.
f. L: 12.0; W: 5.9; T: 1.5.

KyS 40a and 40b belong to the same statue. A hollow large-scale terracotta with hair falling on the shoulder has been discovered in the male sanctuary at Polis.⁸⁰

41. Right hand and part of the arm of a lifesize statue bent at the elbow and probably held at the body. Thumb extended, fingers bent. Wears a large fitted bracelet of eight strings with a clasp formed by two longitudinal partitions at the center front. Pieced together from four fragments (*Fig. 34a*).
a. Hand and bracelet modelled by hand. Upper arm built by coiling—two long coils spanning its total length.
b. No wash. Traces of red paint.

- c. Group B1.
d. Hardness 1.
e. Clay: 5YR 7/6.
f. H: 6.9 (resting on the side); W: 9.0; T: 29.3.

The type of bracelet is paralleled in larger scale terracottas from Idalion.⁸¹

42. Part of body/garment of a terracotta statue ending in a flattened edge. Pieced together from 4 fragments (*Fig. 34b*).
a. Not clear.
b. No wash.

- c. –
d. Hardness 1.
e. Clay: 7.5YR 8/4.
f. H: 15.8; W: 16.0; T: 1.5 (midpoint, top).

KyS 41 and 42 appear to have the same clay, fired to compatible hardness. They might belong to the same sculpture.

43. Right hand of a lifesize statue wearing a fitted bracelet decorated with two rows of rosettes. Fingers bent and partly missing. Thumb missing (*Fig. 35*).
a. Unclear. The arm, hollow, possibly wheelmade, was filled with a lump of clay over which the hand was built. The rosettes are stamped.

- b. Wash. Red (hand) and brown (bracelet) paint.
c. Group A1c.
d. Hardness 2.
e. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; wash 10YR 8/3; red 10R 6/4; brown 2.5YR 4/2.
f. H: 6.7; W: 8.2; L: 13.8.

44. Fragment of hair. Three tresses (*Fig. 37b*).
a. Probably cast. Seam on inner surface and faint finger impressions (coiling?).
b. Homogeneous surface color. Black on the hair and very faint traces of red on the rest.
c. –
d. Hardness 2.
e. Clay 5YR 6/6; wash 7.5YR 7/4–8/4; black 7.5YR 2/0
f. H: 7.7; W: 5.3.; T: 1.1 (lowest point).

45. Fragment with grooves in a herringbone pattern—it probably represents hair tresses (*Fig. 37c*).
a. Not clear.
b. No wash. Traces of black.

- c. –
d. Hardness 2.
e. Clay 5YR 7/6–7/4; surface 5YR 8/4–7/4; black 5YR 3/2.
f. H: 3.1; W: 2.7; T: 1.1.

46. Band with spirals and part of eyebrows of a statue (*Fig. 37a*).
a. Not clear. Finger impressions on the interior of the surface.
b. No wash. Black (eyebrows, band) and red (skin) paint.

- c. Group C.
d. Hardness 2.
e. Clay 10YR 8/3; red 10R 4/6; black 5Y 2.5/1.
f. H: 6.6; W: 6.1; T: 1.5 (highest point).

The rendering of the eyebrows as seen in KyS 46 is typical for terracottas in the Neo-Cypriote style.

47. Left breast of terracotta statuette (*Fig. 39*).
a. Probably cast. Finger impressions on interior. Seam (partly coiled?).

- b. No wash. Very faint traces of red paint.
c. Group B2.
d. Hardness 4.
e. Clay 10YR 8/4–2.5Y 8/4; red 10R 3/6.
f. H: 15.8; W: 9.6; T: 1.0 (top left corner).

Kys 47 is reminiscent of Neo-Cypriote terracottas from the Heraion at Samos.⁸²

48. Thumb and part of index of a lifesize terracotta (*Fig. 36a*).
a. The thumb is carefully modelled by hand and rests on the wheelmade (?) body.

- b. Apparently no wash.
c. Group B2.
d. Hardness 2.
e. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; Wash 7.5YR 7/4–8/4.
f. H: 2.5; W: 5.3; L: 9.0.

49. Drapery fragment (*Fig. 36b*).
a. Wheelmade.

- b. No wash.
c. Group B1.
d. Hardness 2.
e. Surface 7.5YR 7/4; break 5YR 7/6.
f. H: 15.0; W: 10.3; T: 1.2–1.6.

50. Cylindrical hollow fragment tapering at one end (*Fig. 36c*).
 a. Wheelmade.
 b. No wash.
 c. Group A1c.
 d. Hardness 2.
 e. Break 2.5YR 6/8; surface 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted).
 f. H: 8.4; W: 4.2 × 3.7 (top), 2.5 × 2.5 (lower part); T: .7 (bottom).

KyS 50 resembles the legs of wheelmade bulls, as we know them from other sanctuaries.⁸³ Fragments of large-scale bull statuettes have been reported from a well at *Skali*.⁸⁴

51. Fragment of the body/dress of a figure. Slightly bent inwards on one long side (*Fig. 38c*).
 a. Not clear.
 b. No wash. Solid red on the exterior.
 c. –
 d. Hardness 2.
 e. Clay 10YR 8/3; red 10R 5/6.
 f. H: 8.7; L: 14.4; T: 1.3–1.5.
52. Fragment of the body/dress of a figure (*Fig. 38a*).
 a. Not clear.
 b. No wash. Traces of solid red on the exterior.
 c. Group C.
 d. Hardness 2.
 e. Clay 10YR 8/4; red 10R 4/6.
 f. H: 11.0; W: 13.1; T: 1.3–1.7 (edge of non-abraded side).
53. Fragment of a figure (from an arm?) (*Fig. 38b*).
 a. Wheelmade.



Fig. 68. Acc. 565.

- b. No wash. Traces of red, localized near one end (a band?).
 c. –
 d. Hardness 2.
 e. Clay 2.5YR 6/6; red 7.5R 5/8.
 f. L: 8.4; W: 5.9; T: .7 (along one side).

Small-scale terracottas from Kythrea Kamilosstrada

The following terracottas are part of the so-called Accession collection of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. They come from the locality *Kamilosstrada*.^{84 bis} The entries used are the same as in the catalogue of the small-scale terracottas. Percentages in entry 'd' estimate the area occupied by inclusions in the clay matrix.⁸⁵

- Acc. 565. Head of terracotta. Ear caps. Hair (?) combed backwards. Band around the head (*Fig. 68*).
 a. Front side cast with mediocre definition.
 b. Figurine hollow. Back side concave. Surface slightly undulating.
 c. No wash.
 d. Clay with scarce polychrome oval inclusions 3–5–7 %.
 e. Hardness 2.
 f. Clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8 (diluted)
 g. H: 9.8; W (max) 7.3.

The identification of this figurine with Acc. 565 is highly probable, though not completely certain.⁸⁶ The figurine belongs to a series known from Achna, a female sanctuary excavated by Ohnfalsch-Richter. Figurine A68 from Achna in the British Museum was cast in a mold of the same series. Acc. 565 and A68 are hollow with the front side cast in a mold and the back side slightly convex, without any sculptural details. The way it was made is not clear. Caubet suggests that the back sides of figurines from Achna in the Louvre, which show a similar manufacturing technique were cast in a form.⁸⁷

- Acc. 567. Head and neck of terracotta. Stud and hanging earrings. Necklace with oval beads (*Fig. 16b*).
 a. Front side cast with good definition.
 b. Back side concave. Incisions on the sides.
 c. No wash. Traces of black on the hair. Very faint traces of red on the face and the back right side.
 d. Clay with polychrome oval inclusions 10–15–20 %.
 e. Hardness 3.
 f. Clay 5YR 7/4–7/6; black 5YR 3/1; red 7.5R 5/6.
 g. H: 8.7; W: 5.1; T: 1.7.
 h. Generalized Basic Series. Identical to Arsos C606 (*Fig. 24*); jewelry not as well defined as in C606.

- Acc. 568. Head, neck and right shoulder of figurine. Necklace (*Fig. 16a*).

- a. Front side cast with good definition. Ears missing.
- b. Back side slightly concave with even surface. Probably worked with a tool.
- c. No wash.
- d. Clay with polychrome oval inclusions 20–25–30 %.
- e. Hardness 3.
- f. Clay 5YR 7/4–7/6 and 5YR 7/6.
- g. H: 9.8; W: 5.6; T: 2.1 (right side of break).
- h. Series of KyS 10.

Acc. 569. Figurine with arms along the sides. Lower half missing. Lower left side broken (*Fig. 26*).

- a. Front cast. Definition of mold mediocre.
- b. Back side concave with harsh, broad incisions in the middle; sides cut smooth. Back side of head hollowed out.
- c. Homogeneous surface color. Traces of red (once painted solid?) on the body and neck.
- d. Small polychrome inclusions 10–15–20 %.
- e. Hardness 3.
- f. Break 2.5YR 6/6; surface 5YR 8/3; red 5R 3/6.
- g. H: 14.0; W 7.3 (on the moldmade part), 7.7 (on the background); T: 1.8 (midpoint, lower side).
- f. Generalized Basic Series.

In its pose, iconography and style the body of the figurine finds counterparts in terracottas from the Ar-sos-Samos Generalized Basis Series, but the face is not in the Neo-Cypriote style. Acc. 567 was cast in a mold, in all probability created from an old mold of the Ar-sos-Samos complex by retaining the body and making a new face. This will account for the rather elongated neck of Acc. 569.

Acc. 570. Upper half of figurine with arms along the sides. Area below the breasts on the front side badly abraded (*Fig. 16c*).

- a. Front cast. Poor definition. Right ear not fully cast.
- b. Back side even, slightly concave. Back side of head hollowed out.
- c. Wash survives best on upper back side. Traces of solid red on the body, the face and on part of the hair over the forehead. Black on the hair.
- d. Clay with polychrome oval inclusions 15–20–25 %.
- e. Hardness 2.
- g. Wash (back) 5YR 8/3–8/4; clay 2.5YR 6/6–6/8 (diluted); red 5R 4/6; black 7.5YR 4/0.
- f. H: 12.5; W: 5.1; T: 1.2 (midpoint, break).
- g. Generalized Basic Series.

B. Sculptures in stone

Sculptures in stone from Kythrea temenos are very fragmentary. The assemblage includes fragments from minute to lifesize statues. When complete, most of them would have been of portable size.

The iconographic diversity of the sculptures is limited. Only 3 types are represented:

- a. a female figure with the left arm to the side and the right across the abdomen—the hand is empty or holds a lotus flower;
- b. a female figure with the left arm covered by a himation and bent along the body to sustain small round objects (fruit?);
- c. a female figure holding an object in the left arm, a musical instrument (?), perhaps a lyre.

All figures for which the gender can be determined are female. What is of interest is the stylistic diversity of the pieces; they range from Archaic to Hellenistic, providing a rough indicator for the chronological placement of the sanctuary.

The fragmentary nature of the material renders the selection of parallels difficult. What characterizes Cypriote sculpture of the Archaic-Hellenistic period is a series of standardized types, and a persistence of earlier sculptural elements into later periods. For this reason, style or iconography cannot always serve as reliable chronological indicators for precise dating. The rendering of the face usually suffices for the piece to be assigned to Gjerstad's framework of styles for the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, a system which suffers from inadequate stratigraphic backing and in itself needs revision.⁸⁸ Only two of our pieces preserve the face, in a condition which impairs full stylistic analysis.

In the presentation that follows sculptures representing the same part of the figure or sharing a similar treatment of the drapery are grouped together. Under each heading clear fragments are grouped first. When the fragment is unclear, this is noted in the catalogue. The parallels used are drawn primarily from the collections in the Louvre, the sanctuary sites of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and the finds from the votive dump at Ayios Varnavas. Comparisons are restricted to examples in stone.

CATALOGUE

After a brief description, the catalogue records the condition and dimensions of each piece. H records maximum height; W records maximum preserved width, along a continuous line; T maximum preserved thickness along a continuous line.

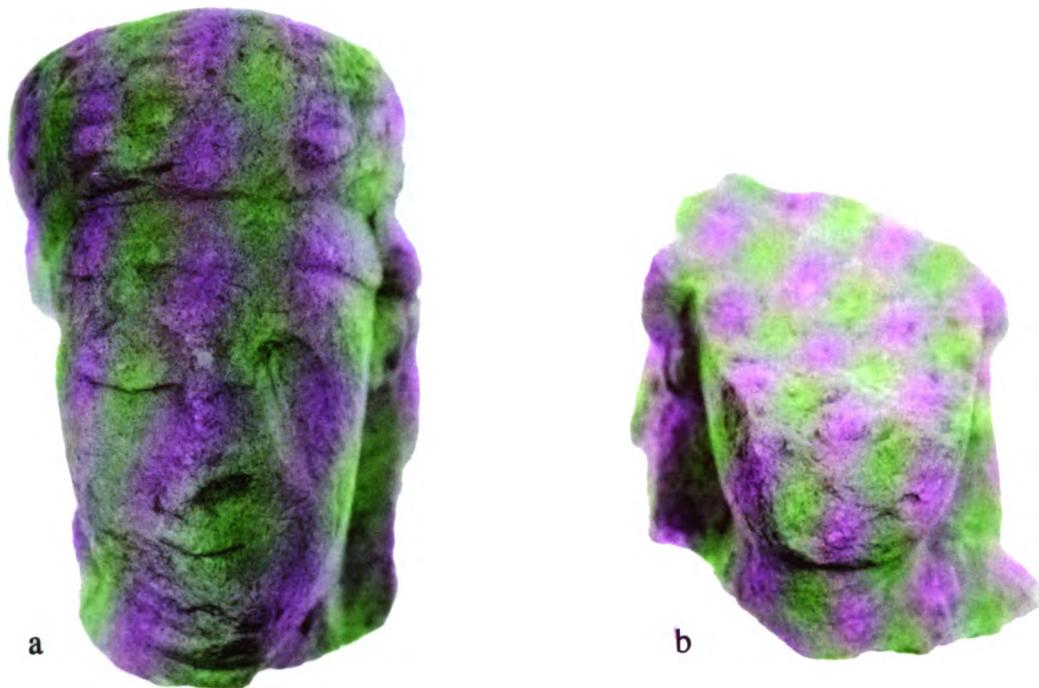


Fig. 69. a. KyS 54 b. KyS 55.

1. Fragments of human figures preserving the head or part thereof

54. Head. Hair long, worked plain, falling down the sides. A thick roll turban of knitted material over the hair. Earrings. Traces of red paint on the turban and on the lips. Back flat; left side somewhat rounded (Fig. 69a).
 a. Face and back side chipped and scared. Lower back right side missing.
 b. H: 10.9; W: 6.9; T: 6.5.

The condition of the face does not allow a positive stylistic attribution. The lips curved upwards at the sides with depressions over them preserve the quality of a faint smile. The carving is smooth, the form of the face oblong, the cheeks somewhat full. The rendering of the eyes, set off from the background of the face, is common in Archaic sculpture from Cyprus⁸⁹ but persists in later periods.⁹⁰

The figure wears a roll turban about a skull-cap, which projects around the head and covers the crown. We see a similar headdress on other Cypriote sculptures in Archaic styles, as on C271–273 in London and

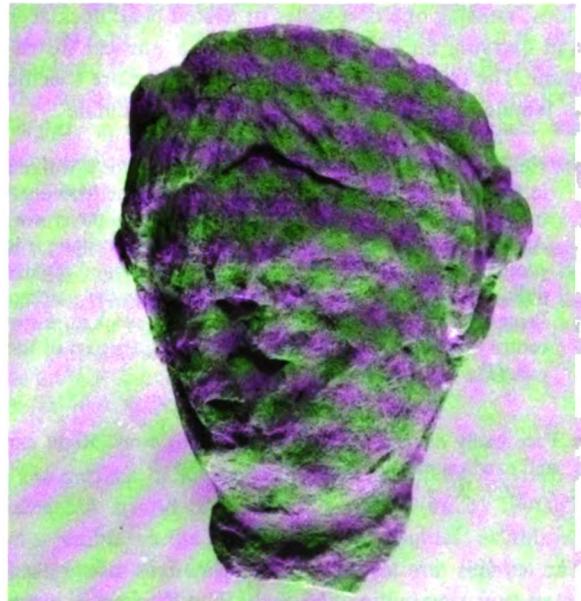


Fig. 70. KyS 56.

10, 11, 13, 14 and 15 from Ayios Varnavas.⁹¹ Of these the turban of C271 is knitted, as on our example. The hair is worked plain on the sides as in C271 and C272 in London and 11, 14–15 from Ayios Varnavas. What is left of the left ear shows clearly that it was covered by an ear cap, as in C271 and C272. In our example, no partitions survive. Bearded male figures also wear a turban,⁹² which varies in detail from that worn by females. A turban is also worn by two female heads in the Cesnola collection. They are in stone, and allegedly from Golgoi.⁹³ The presence of ear caps on our head, a type of earrings specific to females, determines the gender of the figure.

55. Lower part of head and neck. Hair long, worked plain falling down the sides. Plain ear caps covering completely the helix and with double partitions on lobe. Strand of biconical beads around the neck—only the left side survives. Flat back side; sides somewhat round (*Fig. 69b*).

- a. Face and left earring chipped.
- b. H: 8.1; W: 6.6; T: 5.5.

The fragmentary state of the piece impairs a closer stylistic attribution. The iconographic elements which do survive—the cap and ring earrings, the bead necklace, the hair which falls unworked at the sides of the head—are consistent with an attribution to the Archaic period. What survives of the shoulder suggests that the dress was worked plain. To mind comes the female votary dressed in a thick tunic, with hair falling at the sides, wearing one or a series of nested bead necklaces and carrying an offering or playing a musical instrument. The type of earrings and the necklace are specific to female sculptures; KyS 55 represents a female.

56. Head. Plain stiff band round the head. The hair is worked in flat plain tresses. At the top of the head the individual tresses run almost parallel from the hairband to the crown. Above the forehead the hair is parted in the center; it is combed straight down at the sides of the face and slightly obliquely on either side of the forehead near the parting. Faint traces of a string necklet and with a pendant in the center on the neck. Ear caps cover the upper part of the ear. (*Fig. 70*).

- a. Face badly damaged. Back of head split away. Right ear and earrings partly missing.
- b. H: 12.9; W: 9.5; T: 5.4.

The eyelids are differentiated, the eyes are rather small, not dominating the face. The diadem is more often seen in sculptures datable to the 5th century⁹⁴ on

parallelisms with the sculptures from Vouni. The ear cap classifies the figure as a female.

2. *Fragments of human figures preserving the torso or part thereof*

a. Figures dressed in plain garment

This type of garment, a sleeved tunic which leaves no other details of the body to be read but the chest, is worn by all Cypriots both male and female. It is typical of sculptures executed in styles of the Archaic period: there are a few examples of Sub-Archaic sculptures in this garment.⁹⁵ Females dressed in this garment wear a necklace of biconical beads, a type of jewelry not worn by males.

57. Upper body of statuette. Left arm held down close to the side; right arm bent against the body below the breasts. Lotus flower in the right hand. A necklace of beads with an oval pendant in the middle—it might have been wrapped twice (or more times) round the neck (*Fig. 71a*).

Back side slightly convex; sides somewhat round.

- a. Surface pitted and abraded.
- b. H: 11.3; W: 13.2; T: 5.2.

58. Upper body of statuette. Clad in a long sleeved plain garment. Left arm held down close to the side; right arm bent against the body below the breasts. A necklace of biconical beads with an oval pendant in the middle (*Fig. 71c*). Back side flat; sides somewhat round.

- a. Fingers missing. Surface somewhat chipped, especially on the back.
- b. H: 13.8; W: 12.1; T: 5.0.

59. Upper body of statuette. Clad in a long sleeved garment. Left arm held down close to the side; right arm bent against the body below the breasts. Necklace of biconical beads with an oval pendant in the middle—it might have been wrapped twice (or more times) round the neck. A broad band of red paint from the shoulders down to and over the breasts (*Fig. 71b*). Back side flat; sides somewhat round.

- a. Surface somewhat chipped. Most of the left arm missing.
- b. H: 10.6; W: 12.7; T: 5.6.

The color of KyS 59 frames an area carved separately in relief in C238 at the British Museum.⁹⁶ Pryce interprets this as a short sleeved vest worn over the chiton. The pattern might simply mark the border of the dress near the neck. The presence of paint has been noted in other cases. Red is a leading color in Cypriote sculptures; it is found not only on the dress, but often on the face. The pattern on KyS 59 is paralleled in 1675 from Lindos.⁹⁷

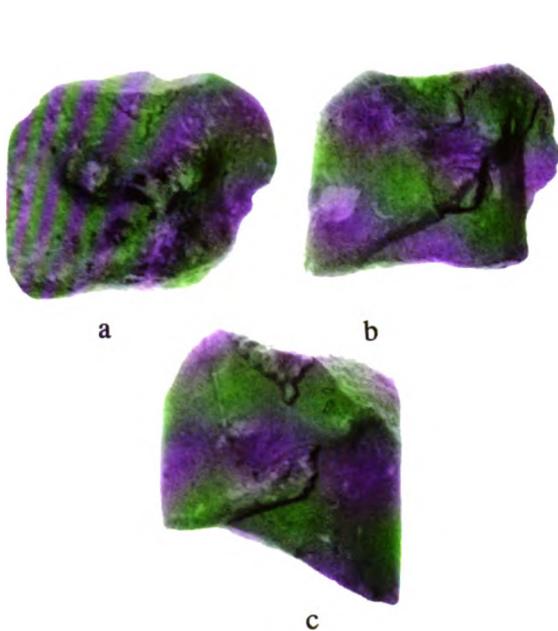


Fig. 71. a. KyS 57 b. KyS 59 c. KyS 58.

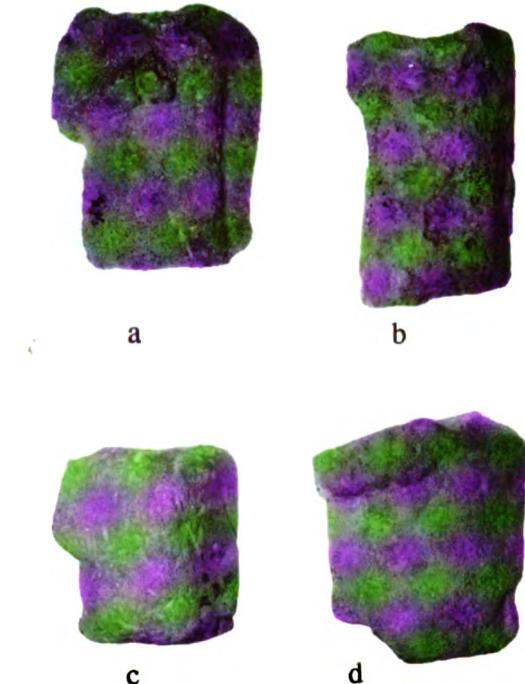


Fig. 72. a. KyS 60 b. KyS 61 c. KyS 62 d. KyS 63.

Statuettes KyS 57–59 are comparable in size and belong to variants of an iconographic type very common in Cypriote sculpture. The lotus held by KyS 57 is a usual attribute of female sculptures. The statuettes are of comparable, but varying styles; their execution betrays a different understanding of volume and line. For KyS 58 the carving of the body forms is flat and shallow; the breasts are broad and flat; the sculptor has refrained from differentiating the left arm, which is carved in one plane with the rest of the body; only the carving of the necklace is deep, the beads clearly articulated. The carving of KyS 57 is smooth and continuous, the volumes rounded, the curves clear. On the back side the surface curves slightly inwards, especially on the left side, suggesting the natural contours of the body. For KyS 59 the carving is almost geometric in its approach, with compact and well defined units—here one can still see the chisel marks descending obliquely from the left shoulder to the breast and running parallel on the left side of the body, below the chest. On each of the sculptures the carving of the necklace is different:

larger beads are rendered for KyS 58, smaller for KyS 57 and KyS 59, but with a disproportionately large central bead for KyS 57 and KyS 59. In KyS 58 and KyS 59 the surface of the figure above the necklace projects slightly upwards. It is possible that the necklace was wrapped around the neck twice, or that another necklace was accommodated.

60. Upper and middle body of statuette clad in a long-sleeved garment—sleeve visible on right arm. Left arm along the side; right arm bent at the elbow and resting below the breasts. Necklace around the neck (Fig. 72a). Back side flat; sides somewhat round.

- a. Surface abraded. Left and part of right hand missing.
- b. H: 10.8; W: 8.6; T: 4.5.

The surface of KyS 60 is abraded, but the posture is clear. A strand of beads of a type worn by females, discernible on the left side of the shoulder, establishes the gender of the figurine. The right arm and the area near it are badly abraded—it is not clear whether the hand was empty or held an object.

61. Upper and middle body of statuette. Left arm along the side; right arm bent at the elbow. Sleeve well marked. Fingers of left hand long and flat (*Fig. 72b*). Back side flat; sides rectangular.
- Surface scarred and badly abraded. Almost all of right arm missing.
 - H: 11.5; W: 7.2; T: 3.2.

Part of the left breast of Ky S 61 survives. A female is represented.

62. Upper body of small statuette clad in a long sleeved garment. Left arm along the side; right arm bent at the elbow and resting on the body. Sleeve of left arm and upper part of left hand visible (*Fig. 72c*). Back side flat; sides somewhat round.
- Surface badly abraded; all details obliterated.
 - H: 8.1; W: 7.6; T: 3.5.
63. Middle and part of upper body of statuette clad in a long sleeved garment. Left arm along the side; right arm bent at the elbow and resting on the body (*Fig. 72d*). Back side flat; sides slightly rounded.
- Surface abraded. Right shoulder missing.
 - H: 10.3; W: 9.2; T: 3.8.

KyS 61 and KyS 62 are of comparable dimensions, only slightly smaller than KyS 60; KyS 63 is slightly bigger than KyS 60. The surface on the front side of all statuettes is very badly abraded. The posture and the type of dress are in all cases clear.

64. Left shoulder of almost lifesize statue. Necklace of biconical beads wrapped twice around the neck. Another necklace—a string (?) with beads (*Fig. 73*) above it. Back side flat; sharp edge between back and front
- Surface abraded.
 - H: 11.8; W: 20.5; T: 7.4.

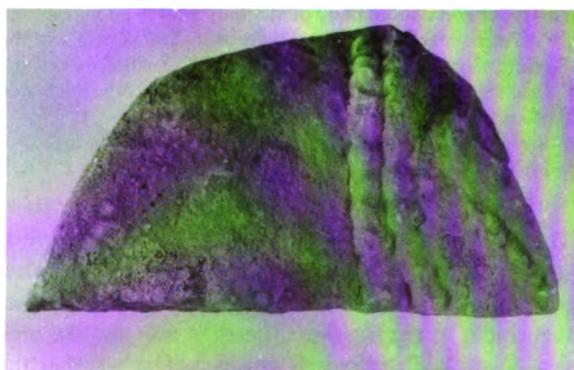


Fig. 73. KyS 64.

KyS 64 is notable for its size, corresponding to an almost lifesize statue which, on the basis of the jewelry, is female. Not enough of the piece survives for it to be assigned to any particular type. The absence of any remains of a background suggests that the figure was standing, rather than sitting.⁹⁸ A posture similar to KyS 57–63 is very probable. Other possibilities are that the arms hung at the sides, held a musical instrument, or rested on the breasts.⁹⁹ Other gestures do occur in Cypriote sculpture, but are much rarer.¹⁰⁰

65. Lower half of statuette. Left hand at the side (*Fig. 74a*). Back side almost flat; sides slightly rounded. Feet missing
- Surface abraded.
 - H: 14.2; W: 9.2; T: 4.3.

The surface of the front side is flat, but there is a slight indication of the left leg being slightly advanced, a posture seen on other Archaic Cypriote sculptures.¹⁰¹

66. Feet of a small statuette standing on a plinth; feet close together and peeping out of the garment (*Fig. 74d*). Back side flat; sides slightly rounded.
- Surface scarred and abraded.
 - H: 9.5; W: 7.7; T: 4.3.

The condition of the piece does not make it possible to determine if the feet were shod or bare. The underside of the base is curved; the statuette could not have stood on its own.

67. Part of middle and/or lower body of statuette. Almost vertical chisel marks on the front and sides (*Fig. 75c*). Back side flat with broad horizontal chisel marks; sides rounded. Fragment not clear.
- Surface slightly pitted.
 - H: 18.4; W: 15.3; T: 5.0.

68. Fragment from middle/lower body of statuette. Left side missing. Arch in relief at lower side (*Fig. 75a*). Fragment not clear.
- Front side scarred; back side pitted and/or split.
 - H: 13.2; W: 14.3; T: 7.1.

The arch in relief at the lower side marks the edge of a vest worn by the figure as we see it in other stone sculptures.¹⁰²

69. Upper and middle body of statuette with left arm (?) along the side; right arm missing (*Fig. 75b*). Back side flat with some broad horizontal and vertical chisel marks; sides non-rounded and with vertical chisel marks. Fragment not clear.
- Surface pitted and slightly abraded.
 - H: 16.9; W: 10.7; T: 4.9.

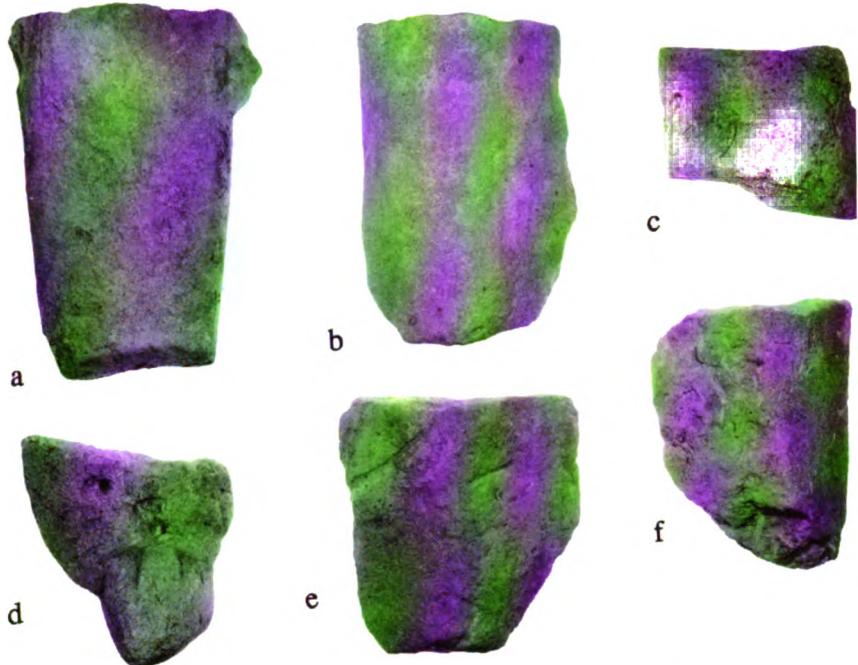


Fig. 74. a. KyS 65 b. KyS 70 c. KyS 72 d. KyS 66 e. KyS 71 f. KyS 73.

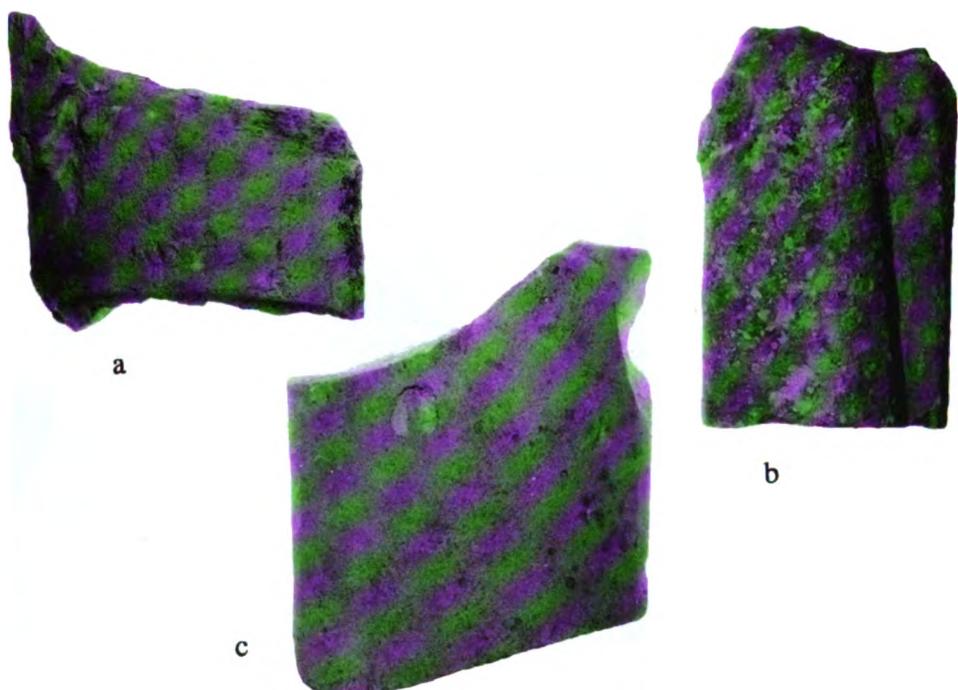


Fig. 75. a. KyS 68 b. KyS 69 c. KyS 67.

The fragment is unclear. The upper arm is peculiarly wider than the forearm.

70. Lower body of statuette. Feet missing (*Fig. 74b*). Back side flat. Areas of red on the back side. Fragment not clear.
 a. Surface abraded; sides fractured
 b. H: 12.4; W: 8.3; T: 3.9.

A vertical groove along the left area of the front side of the body curves parallel to the surface of the body on the left side; it probably represents a himation.

71. Part of middle and/or lower body of statuette (*Fig. 74e*). Back side flat; sides slightly rounded. Fragment not clear.
 a. Surface abraded and slightly scarred.
 b. H: 10.4; W: 9.3; T: 3.1.

72. Part of middle/lower body of statuette (*Fig. 74c*). Broad chisel marks on the back side. Back side uneven; sides rounded. Fragment not clear.
 a. Surface chipped and scarred. Most of one side missing.
 b. H: 6.8; W: 7.6; T: 3.9.

73. Part of middle and/or lower body of statuette. Most of one side abraded/missing. Traces of red paint on the front surface (*Fig. 74f*). Back side flat; side rectangular. Fragment not clear.
 a. Surface chipped, cracked, abraded. All of surface layer of front left side chipped off.
 b. H: 10.5; W: 7.6; T: 3.4.

b. Statuettes with pleated garments

74. Left side of body of statuette. Lowest part and feet missing. Clad in pleated garments. Left arm bent at the elbow, held close to the body and covered by a himation, on which lie two pieces of fruit (?) (*Figs. 76b, 77b*). Back side and sides curving. Sides with sculptural details.
 a. Surface somewhat abraded.
 b. H: 16.3; W: 6.9; T: 5.2.

75. Right side of upper and middle body of a statuette clad in pleated garments with well defined folds. Right arm bent at the elbow. (*Figs. 76a, 77a*). Sides curving on the upper part. Back side flat. Hand missing.
 a. Surface somewhat chipped and abraded.
 b. H: 12.7; W: 7.1 (along the side); T: 4.5.

A sense of movement and an awareness of the forms of the body beneath the drapery characterize the two statuettes. The back side of KyS 74 is treated almost in the round, the curves of the body being subtly rendered in smooth round transitions. Sculptures from Ayios Varnavas, Kition and Vouni show a similar sensitive treatment of the body.¹⁰³ These sculptures correspond

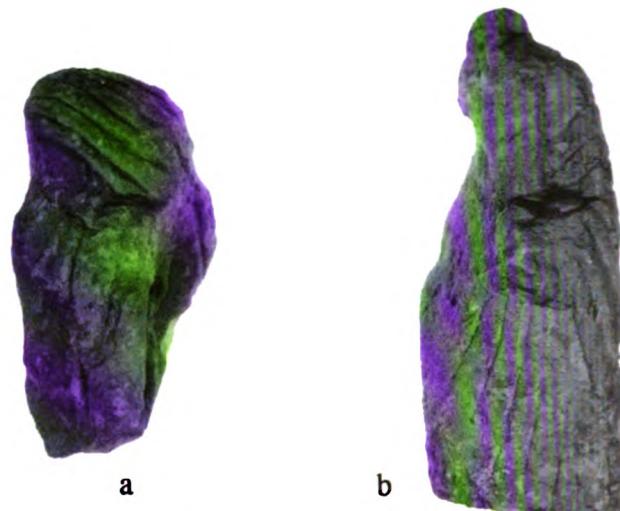


Fig. 76. a. KyS 75 b. KyS 74.

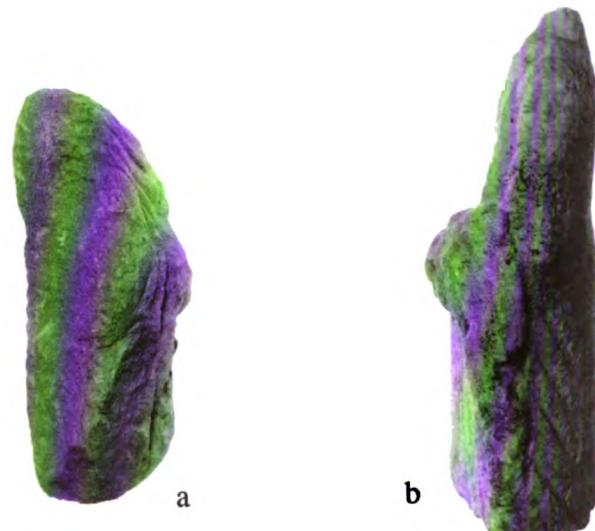


Fig. 77. a. KyS 75 b. KyS 74.

to a phase in which Cypriote art comes under Greek influence to produce a new style, the Cypro-Archaic, with a varying degree of indeptness to its source of inspiration. The dress is Greek or owes a lot to Greek inspiration. Our figures wear a himation. The direction of the folds in KyS 74 suggests that the himation was worn over the left shoulder, around the waist and over the left forearm, as in figures from Vouni and a figure from Athienou in the Louvre.¹⁰⁴ KyS 74 finds a direct iconographic counterpart in these figures. The style of the face on sculpture 545 from Vouni and the figure from Athienou would assign the pieces to the Sub-Archaic style. What survives of the treatment on KyS 75 is compatible with a short himation worn over both shoulders.¹⁰⁵ The treatment of the folds in even, deep folds which echo the movement of the body is common to both figures.

76. Body of very small statuette. Lower part missing. Left arm along the side, right arm bent at the elbow and resting on the body (Fig. 78). Traces of red on left forearm. Back side and sides rounded.
 a. Surface badly abraded.
 b. H: 7.3; W: 4.4; T: 2.6.

KyS 76 is the smallest statuette on the site. Although no details are readable due to its condition, the treatment

of the back side in a convex plane which echoes the movement of the body suggests a sculpture under Greek influence. The continuous curve from the right upper arm to the body suggests a rendering of the garment as in examples in which the figures wear a himation.¹⁰⁶ The left forearm gives the impression that the hand held the garment.

77. Upper part of body of statuette clad in pleated garments. Left arm bent at the elbow and resting on the body. On the arm 2, possibly 3, pieces of fruit (?). Necklace with biconical beads around the neck, preserved on the left side (Fig. 79). Back side slightly convex, sides rounded.
 a. Right side of figure badly damaged; left side badly abraded.
 b. H: 13.6; W: 12.3; T: 5.3.

KyS 77 is of the same general iconographic type as KyS 76. Here the back side is almost flat, the pose more static. The figure evokes parallels with statues holding fruit from Golgoi and Ayios Varnavas.¹⁰⁷ The rendering of the jewelry in more widely spaced biconical beads is characteristic of statues of later series placed in the 5th and 4th centuries.

78. Upper part of body of statuette. Round-necked garment sleeved to the elbow with shallow pleads. Upper right arm along the side. Left arm bent up at the elbow; left forearm held vertically holding an object, now missing. Bracelet on

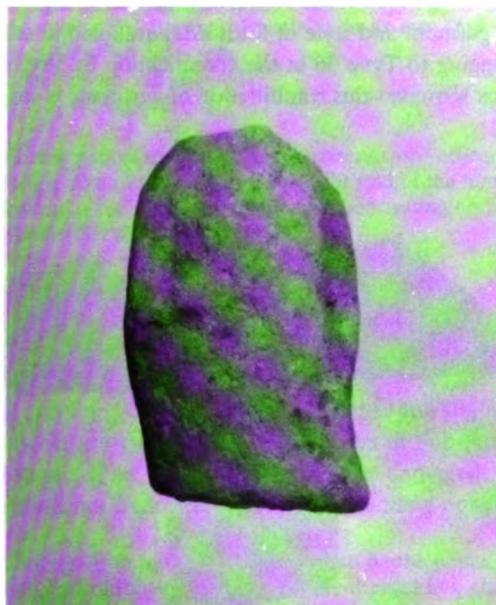


Fig. 78. KyS 76.



Fig. 79. KyS 77.

the left arm. Necklace with biconical beads and a larger bead at the center (Fig. 80a). Back side flat; sides slightly rounded.

- a. Surface somewhat abraded; right side chipped.
b. H: 11.5; W: 11.7; T: 4.2.

79. Lower part of body and feet of small statuette clad in a garment with shallow pleats. Feet shod, set far apart, turning slightly to the sides, and resting on a plinth. (Fig. 80c). Back side flat; sides somewhat rectangular.

- a. Surface somewhat abraded.
b. H: 9.3; W: 11.2; T: 4.0.

KyS 79 can stand on its own, though it tilts considerably forwards.

KyS 78 and 79 share the same treatment of the drapery. The pleats are shallow, more or less vertical, rendered flat and without volume. The treatment is typical of stone sculptures of Type 36 in Pryce's typology¹⁰⁸ placed in the 5th and 4th centuries, and of Type III in the typology devised by Yon for the Ayios Varnavas material, placed in the 5th century.¹⁰⁹ It also finds parallels in a series of sculptures in the Louvre dated by Hermary to the 5th century.¹¹⁰ Parallels from the sanctuaries excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition are afforded by sculptures classified as Sub-Archaic belonging to Styles IV and V of Kition; to Style III of Vouni; and to Styles III and IV of Mersinaki.¹¹¹

80. Part of the middle and lower body of statuette clad in a garment with shallow pleats falling down obliquely. Right hand at the side. Upper left side missing (Fig. 80b). Back side flat with broad horizontal and slightly oblique chisel marks. Sides somewhat curving.

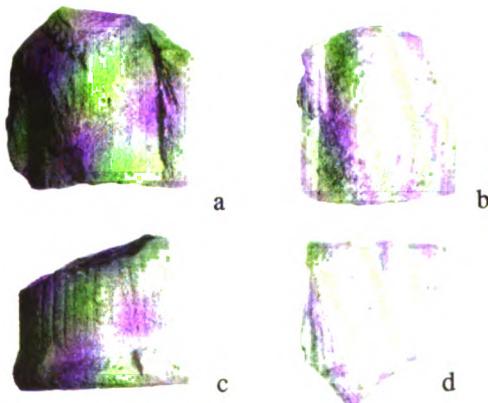


Fig. 80. a. KyS 78 b. KyS 80 c. KyS 79 d. KyS 81.

- a. Surface somewhat abraded. Upper left front side broken away.
b. H: 11.0; W: 9.8; T: 4.3.

It is clear from the direction of the folds that the figure is clad in a himation draped over the left shoulder. The sculptural details of the piece can be explained in terms of how the himation was worn. The oblong areas on a receding plane framing the body represent the himation as it falls on the figure's back on the left side, and as it is held by the hand on the right side. Sculptures 520 from Vouni and 739 from the Vogue mission, now in the Louvre, give good parallels for the wrapping of the himation.¹¹² The oblong pleated area on the left side of the body represents the edge of the himation, as it falls having draped the left forearm, in a manner similar, though not exactly paralleled by sculpture 739. The right hand is abraded. If the grooves that we see on the hand represent the fingers, they could not possibly have held the garment. The end folds of the himation on the left side are usually rendered more to the left. These observations suggest that the sculptor misunderstood how the garment was worn.

81. Lower part of body of statuette clad in a pleated chiton and an obliquely falling himation. Of the feet, only part of the right foot preserved (Fig. 80d). Back side flat; sides slightly round.

- a. Surface abraded. Pleats of the chiton hardly discernible.
b. H: 10.9; W: 9.3; T: 3.6.

The garment and style of folds are paralleled in statues belonging to Type 36 in the classification by Pryce. At Ayios Varnavas this combination of garments is worn in

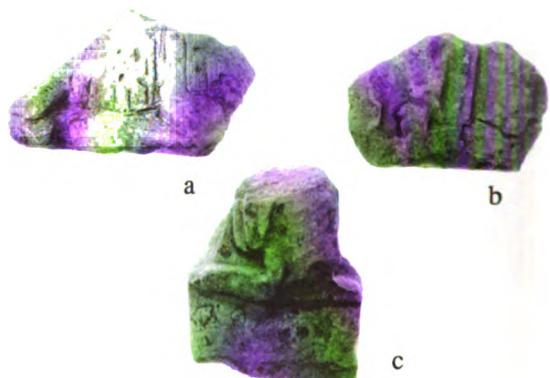


Fig. 81. a. KyS 82 b. KyS 83 c. KyS 84.

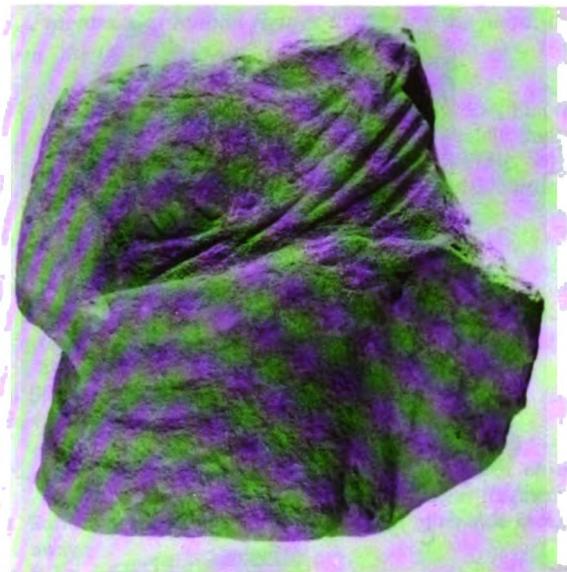


Fig. 82. KyS 85.

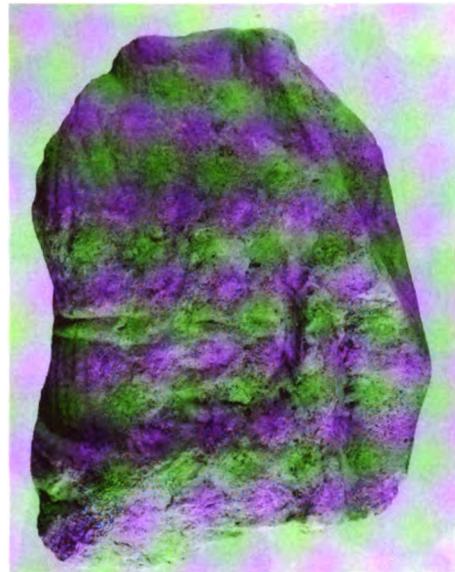


Fig. 83. KyS 86.

this fashion and rendered in similar style by sculptures belonging to Type III. Sculptures 96 and 97 from Ayios Varnavas¹¹³ give reasonable parallels for this fragment.

82. Lowest part of statuette. Garment with vertical folds falling down to the feet. Feet shod, resting on a plinth, and set slightly to the side and quite apart from one another. Right foot partly missing. Traces of red paint on the garment and the shoes. The fragment can stand on its own (Fig. 81a). Back side flat; sides split.

- a. Surface pitted and chipped.
- b. H: 7.7; W: 11.5; T: 5.8.

83. Lowest part of small statuette. Garment with vertical folds falling down to the feet. At the right fold of the himation falling to the floor. Feet probably shod resting on a long plinth (Fig. 81b).

- a. Surface somewhat abraded.
- b. H: 7.6; L: 10.7; T: 3.6.

KyS 82 and KyS 83 can stand on their own. The feet, shod and set quite apart from each other and slightly to the sides, are characteristic of a series of Sub-Archaic sculptures. The sides of KyS 82 are damaged; it is therefore not clear if the figure was standing or seated.

84. Stele (?) with lowest part of statuette on the upper register. Part of left side missing. Figure dressed in a garment with obliquely rendered pleats. Rich flat folds of the himation falling to the right. Right foot shod and set somewhat

obliquely. Traces of red color on the side folds (Fig. 81c). Back side flat; sides rectangular.

- a. Surface somewhat abraded.
- b. H: 12.2; W: 9.7 (stele); T: 4.9.

This is the upper tier of a relief, on which the figure is standing. The figure stands sideways. The treatment of the folds of the hanging himation is clearly archaic. Although infrequent, dedicatory stelae are known from Cypriote sanctuaries.¹¹⁴

85. Upper body of a statuette clad in a round-necked, short sleeved pleated chiton. Himation worn under the right arm and over the left shoulder covering completely the left breast. Right arm bent at the elbow and resting on the body below the breasts. On the left side a rectangular object. Left side broken away. Faint traces of red on the left side (Fig. 82). Back side curved slightly suggesting the contours of the body; area behind the left arm carved at a slight angle from the rest; sides rounded.

- a. Surface somewhat abraded. Elbow broken away.
- b. H: 16.4; W: 16.0; T: 7.1.

86. Upper half of body of statue. Dressed in a pleated high-girdled, round necked chiton. Left arm and shoulder entirely cloaked in a himation; himation draped around the waist in a thick roll. Left arm bent at the elbow holding an object, which is long and narrow at the lower side. Right arm missing (Fig. 83). Back side flat, area behind the left arm carved at a slight angle from the rest; sides curved.

- a. Surface abraded, pitted and chipped.
- b. H: 22.0; W: 16.3; T: 5.7.

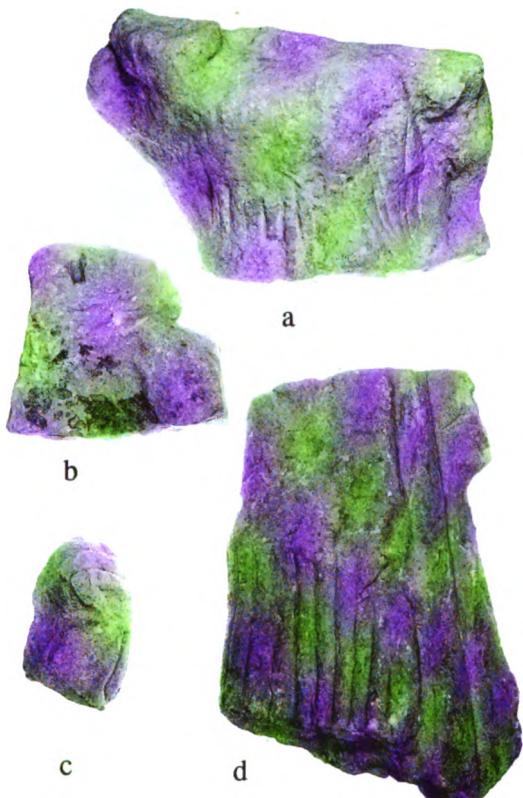


Fig. 84. a. KyS 87 b. KyS 95 c. KyS 94 d. KyS 88.

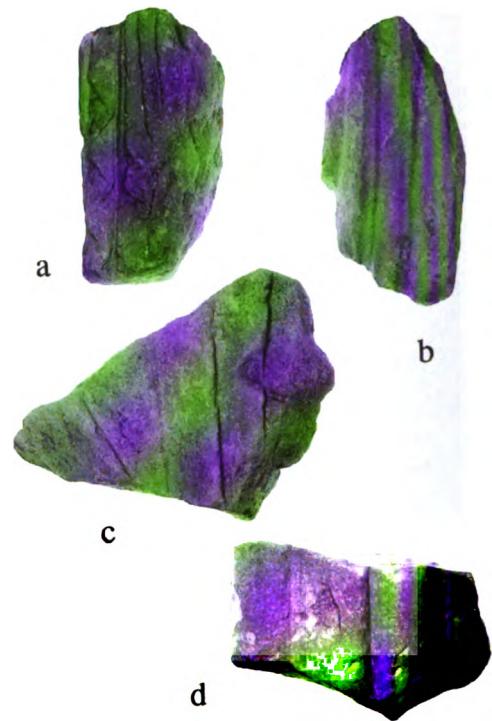


Fig. 85. a. KyS 89 b. KyS 90 c. KyS 91 d. KyS 92.

The two statuettes are Hellenistic in style. Most probably they represented music players, which, by analogy to known pieces in various styles, might have held a lyre.¹¹⁵ The dress of KyS 86—a high-belted chiton, a himation pulled across the abdomen in a wide drooping roll and covering completely the left arm and shoulder—finds close parallels in Attic votive reliefs of the second half of the 4th century and endures through the first century B.C.¹¹⁶ The dress of KyS 86 finds parallels in the Arsos series, in examples from Soli and in sculptures in the Louvre.¹¹⁷

87. Middle part of torso? Drapery folds. Fragment unclear (Fig. 84a).

- a. Surface scarred and abraded.
- b. H: 14.2; W: 21.1; T: 8.8.

88. Lower part of torso? Folds at lower side. Fragment unclear (Fig. 84d).

- a. Surface scarred and abraded. Part of one side broken away.
- b. H: 21.7; 15.3; T: 7.7.

- 89. Part of drapery. Long vertical and zigzag folds resting on different planes. Archaic style (Fig. 85a). Back side flat; side slightly rounded.
 - a. Surface of folds slightly chipped. Left side of fragment broken away.
 - b. H: 15.1; W: 8.4; T: 5.7.
- 90. Part of drapery. Vertical folds resting on different planes (Fig. 85b). Back broken away.
 - a. Surface abraded. Back sliced away.
 - b. H: 16.4; W: 8.4; T: 4.1.
- 91. Part of drapery. Broad, oblique folds resting on a common plane and separated by shallow grooves (Fig. 85c). Back broken away.
 - a. Surface abraded.
 - b. 13.8 × 18.1; T: 4.7.
- 92. Part of drapery. Broad vertical folds resting on a common plane and separated by narrow, moderately deep grooves (Fig. 85d). Back side flat; sides broken away.
 - a. Surface scarred and somewhat abraded.
 - b. 9.4 × 15.2; T: 4.7.

3. Fragments of human figures preserving the hand, the arm, the leg or the feet

93. Fingers and part of left hand of a lifesize statue. Fingers slightly bent. Drapery over the small and middle finger. Oval rings on the index and the middle finger (*Fig. 86*).
 a. Surface somewhat chipped and scarred. Underside broken away.
 b. L: 12.5; W: 8.2; T: 6.1.
94. Fragment from hand of a lifesize statue preserving only part of the fingers at the knuckles. Fragment broken (sliced) perpendicularly to the hand on either side (*Fig. 84c*). Unclear fragment.
 a. Surface somewhat abraded.
 b. $4.6 \times 11.3 \times 10.5$.
95. Left (?) hand grasping an object. Underside of object treated in parallel grooves (*Fig. 84b*). Unclear fragment.
 a. Surface abraded. One side sliced away; other side broken away.
 b. $8.7 \times 5.5 \times 6.7$.
96. Roughly cylindrical fragment slightly tapering towards one end (arm?; leg?) (*Fig. 87a*). Vertical chisel marks on the surface.
 a. Surface scarred.
 b. H: 12.7; W: 6.0 \times 5.3 (bottom).
97. Roughly cylindrical fragment, more narrow towards one end (arm?, leg?) (*Fig. 87b*).
 a. Surface charred and abraded.
 b. H: 8.5; W: 8.2 \times 6.8.

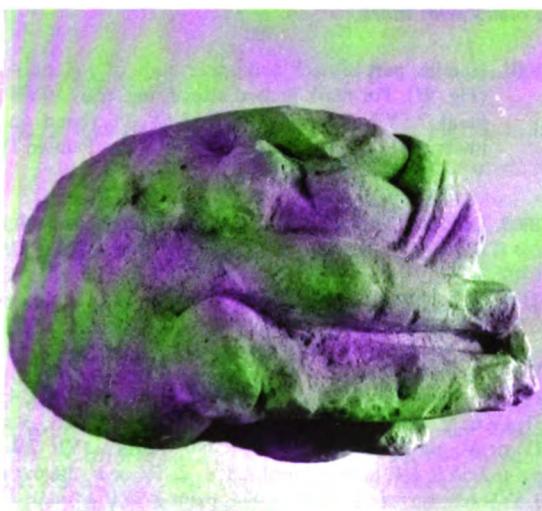


Fig. 86. KyS 93.

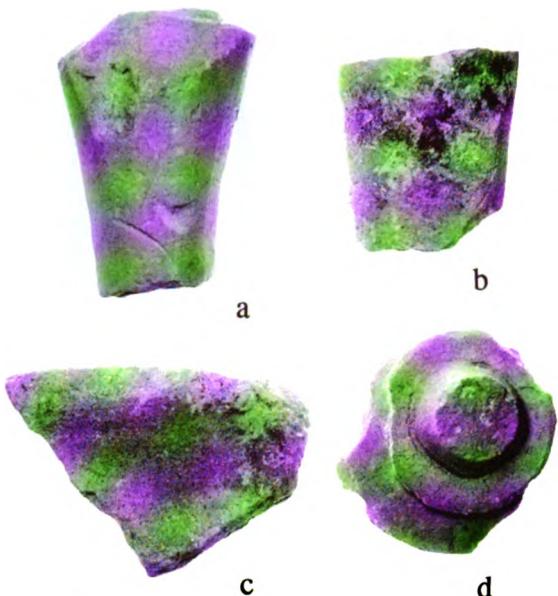


Fig. 87. a. KyS 96 b. KyS 97 c. KyS 101 d. KyS 102.

98. Feet of a statuette on a plinth. Set frontally, at a small distance from one another. Bare; toes indicated with narrow grooves (*Fig. 88*).
 a. Surface scarred and abraded.
 b. H: 11.4; W: 15.9; L: 16.5.
99. Feet of a statuette on a plinth. Set frontally, at a small distance from one another. Bare; toes separated by deep, narrow grooves. Naturalistic rendering of toenails. Garment missing (*Fig. 89*). Oblique chisel marks on the underside, the back and the sides.
 a. Condition mediocre.
 b. H: 7.9; W: 11.9; L: 12.2.
100. Feet of a statuette on a plinth. Set frontally, very close—touching?—one another. Bare; toenails rendered naturally and with care (*Fig. 90*).
 a. Surface badly scarred. Parts broken away.
 b. H: 9.6; W: 13.9; L: 17.6.

The feet on KyS 98–100 are set parallel and close to each other, in a way often seen on sculptures of the Archaic period dressed in a non-pleated garment.¹¹⁸ The three sculptures differ in style.

4. Other objects

101. Small fragment from an open bowl (*Fig. 87c*).



Fig. 88. KyS 98.

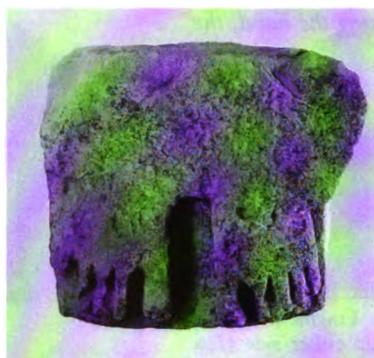


Fig. 89. KyS 99.

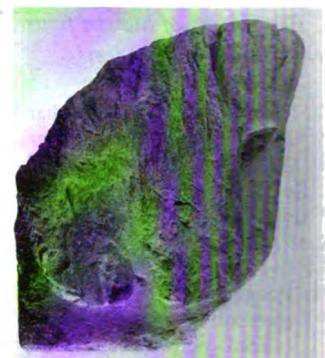


Fig. 90. KyS 100.

- a. Surface slightly abraded.
- b. App. radius 21.3; L (max): 14.1; W (max): 9.7.

Votive vessels in stone are reported from other sites.¹¹⁹

102. Fragmentary base with concentric mouldings and part of shaft (Fig. 87d).
- a. Rim of base and upper moulding partly broken away.
 - b. H: 5.9. App. radius 5.7.

The piece is portable. To mind comes a stemmed stone vessel, a stand, or an incense burner.¹²⁰

Nine additional unclear fragments of sculpture—9 small, 3 somewhat larger—have not been included in the catalogue.

II. POTTERY

A. Diagnostic sherds

Painted sherds were removed from the boxes of pottery in the hope of finding diagnostic pieces. The assemblage is dominated by White Painted sherds. Dr. Sørensen, who kindly looked at photographs of all sherds selected comments on the material (letter of September 28, 1992): "The general impression is that the material is late . . . nothing is earlier than Archaic". Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sherds could be identified.¹²¹

KyS 1001 (Fig. 91a-b) in the list of pottery has a pot mark incised along the length of the handle *after firing*. The mark is very simple, in the form of a cross cut higher up on the vertical axis. It exists as a sign in the Cypriote syllabary, with a phonetic value of "lo". A mark, probably only a part of it, is read on KyS 1002, a

fragmentary handle of Plain Ware (Fig. 92a-b). It is again incised after firing.

The black paint on KyS 1001 was tested using scanning electron microscopy. It is characterized by a high content of manganese, an element absent from the underlying layer of clay (Fig. 93).

The presentation of pottery is schematic. Archaic/Classical sherds were identified briefly by Dr. Lone Sørensen; Hellenistic by Dr. John Lund. For the most part the catalogue groups sherds by wares. Some are attributed to Types. The color, maximum length or width, and a random reading for the thickness are recorded. All sherds have a hardness of 2 or 3 and with only the exception of KyS 1007, the clay tends to be low in inclusions.

Pottery with marks

1001. Handle, part of neck and upper body of a globular jug (Fig. 91). Pot mark incised after firing. Clay 10YR 8/3; paint 7.5YR 4(0, 7.5YR 3/0, 2.5Y 7/6 (band on the lower part of the neck); 18.0 × .6; White Painted IV or V.
1002. Fragment of a handle and rim with mark incised after firing (Fig. 92). Clay 5YR 7/4; 8.1. Plain White.

Painted Wares

White Painted (Figs. 94, 95)

- 1003: break 10YR 8/2, surface 10YR 8/3, paint 5YR 5/3; 4.8 × .3; IV or V. 1004: break 5YR 8/3, surface 10YR 8/2; 3.3 × .3; IV or V. 1005 a-d: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 5YR 7/4-7/6, paint 2.5YR 4/4; largest sherd 2.8 × .2; IV or V. 1006: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 7.5YR 7/4-8/4, paint 2.5YR 4/2-4/4; 4.3 × .3; IV or V. 1007: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface (exterior) 10YR 8/3, surface (interior) 10R 6/6, paint (exterior) 2.5YR 4/2, 2.5YR 4/4, paint (interior) 10R 4/6; 6.4 × .5; probably IV or



Fig. 91. a. KyS 1001.

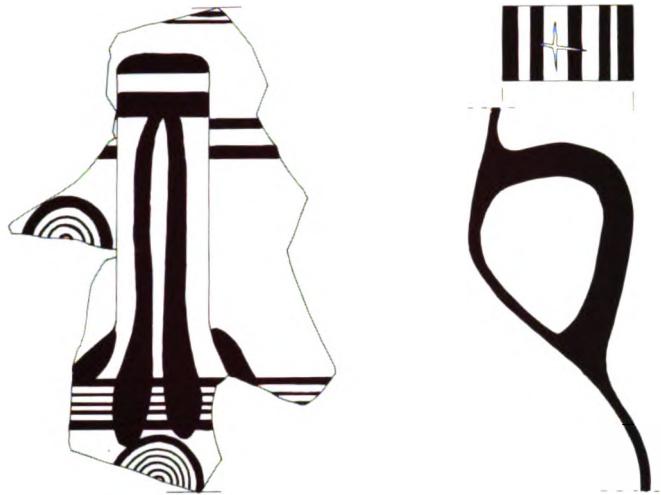


Fig. 91. b. KyS 1001. Drawing by M. Elliott.



Fig. 92. a. KyS 1002.

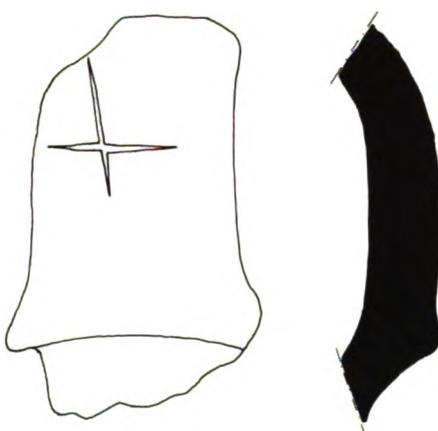


Fig. 92. b. KyS 1002. Drawing by M. Elliott.

V. 1008: break 5YR 7/4, surface (exterior) 10YR 8/3, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 7.4 × .5; probably IV or V. 1009: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface -, paint 2.5YR 3/2; 6.6 × .6; probably III or IV. 1010: break 2.5YR 6/8 (diluted), paint 2.5YR 3/2; 9.9 × .5. 1011: surface & break 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 2.5YR 3/4; 5.9 × .6. 1012: surface & break 2.5YR 6/8, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 4.1 × .4. 1013: break 2.5YR 6/8 (diluted), paint 2.5YR 3/2; 4.3 × .6. 1014: surface & break 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 5YR 4/1; 3.7 × .6. 1015: surface & break 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 5YR 4/1; 3.3 × .5. 1016: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 5YR 7/4-7/6, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 3.5 × .4. 1017: surface 5YR 7/6, break 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 5YR 4/1; 6.3 × .6. 1018: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 5YR 7/6, paint 2.5YR 3/2; 7.2 × .7. 1019: surface & break 7.5YR 8/4 & 10YR 8/4, paint 2.5YR 3/2; 4.3 × .7. 1020: break 2.5YR 6/6, paint 2.5YR 3/2; 5.5 × 1.1. 1021: break

2.5YR 6/6, surface 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 2.5YR 4/2; 1.3 × .5. 1022: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), paint 2.5YR 4/4, 1.7 × .2—might be Bichrome. 1023: break and interior surface 2.5YR 6/6, exterior surface 5YR 7/4, paint 2.5YR 4/2 & 2.5YR 4/4; 2.2 × .2—might be Bichrome. 1024: surface & break 5YR 8/4-7/4, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 3.0 × .6. 1025: break 5YR 7/4, exterior surface 10YR 8/3, 7.5YR 8/4, black 2.5YR 4/2; 5.5 × .6. 1026: break 5YR 7/4, surface 7.5YR 8/4 & 10YR 8/3, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 5.8 × .7. 1027: clay 2.5YR 6/6, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 5.7 × .9. 1028: break 2.5YR 6/6, paint 2.5YR 5/6; 3.3 × .4—might be Bichrome.

Bichrome Ware (Figs. 96, 97a-b)

1029: break 5YR 7/4, black 2.5YR 4/2, red 10R 5/6; 10.7 × .5; mended from three pieces. 1030: break 2.5YR 6/6, black

KyS 1001

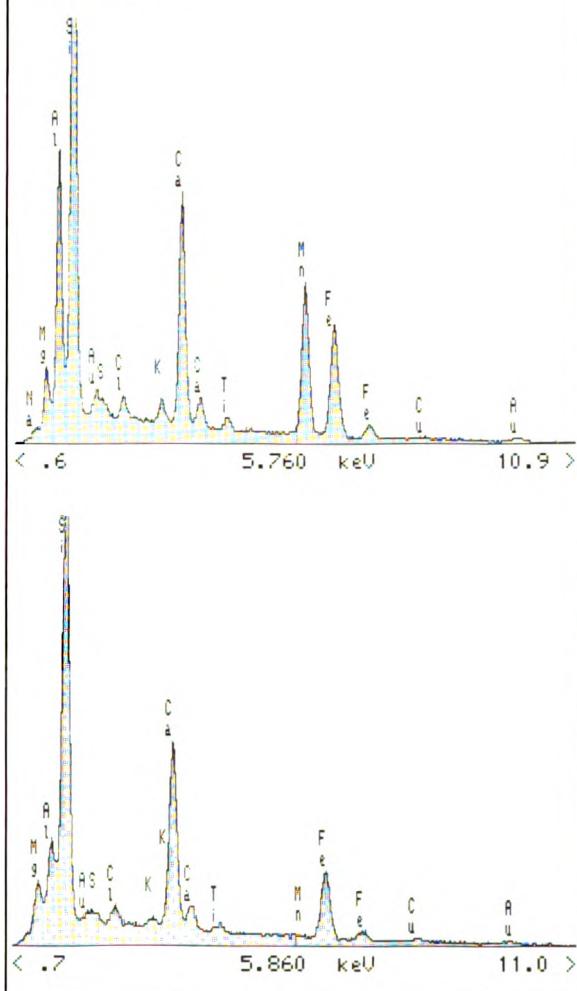


Fig. 93. KyS 1001, dark pigment and underlying layer of clay.
 $S = 0 < 2$ Sigma in the pigment. Na not recorded in the clay.

2.5YR 3/2, red 10R 5/6; 10.2 x .5; mended from three pieces.
1031: surface 5YR 7/4, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 2.8 x .3; II or III.
1032: break 5YR 7/6, paint 2.5YR 4/4 & 10R 5/6; 3.6 x .5.

Black on Red (Fig. 96)

1033: break 5YR 7/4-7/6, exterior surface 10R 6/6 & 10R 4/3, paint 2.5YR 3/2; 4.1 x .3; II (IV). 1034: break 2.5YR 6/6, surface 10R 5/8, paint 2.5YR 4/2; 2.9 x .5.

Black Glazed (Figs. 96, 97c)

1035: clay 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted), black - : 6.1 x .6.

Hellenistic or later (*Figs. 98, 99*)

1036: break 2.5YR 6/6, paint 2.5YR 3/4 & 10R 5/6 (mottled surface); 8.1 x .4; Hellenistic. 1037: break 2.5YR 6/6, paint 10R 5/8 & 2.5YR 3/2 (mottled surface); 6.4 x .4; Hellenistic. 1038: break 7.5YR 8/4, paint 10R 5/4 & 5YR 4/1; 7.7 x .6; Hellenistic? 1039: clay 2.5YR 6/6, paint 10R 5/6; 5.7 x .4. 1040: clay 2.5YR 6/6 (very diluted), paint 10R 5/8; 7.3 x .6; probably late Hellenistic; 1041: clay 5YR 7/6, paint 10R 4/6; 8.2 x 1.1; Eastern Sigillata A, probably pre-Roman.

Six sherds with matte red slip were also part of the assemblage. It was not possible to establish if they were Hellenistic or earlier. A Red Polished sherd was also found.

Plain White (Fig. 100)

1042: clay 5YR 7/6 & 2.5YR 6/6 (diluted); surface 5YR 7/6 & 7.5YR 7/4-8/4; 13.4 x .4; mended from several pieces.

Coarse Ware (Fig. 101)

1043: Several sherds, wheelmade, including two fragments with horizontal handles; clay 10R 5/6 & 10R 3/1 with variation; largest sherd 10.6 x .5.

B. Size of vessels

Non-painted pottery was neither washed nor restored. Sherds preserving partly or completely the base were selected. The intent was to gain a rough impression of the size of vessels current at the site. The bases, of course, correspond to both painted and plain pottery. All types of vessels are represented, from large storage pots to small fine pottery. The emphasis on small-size and on finer vessels is clear (*Fig. 102*). It is possible that the statistics might be slightly inflated due to differential selection of less bulky pottery during the survey. Nevertheless, miniature vessels and fine pottery have been reported from other Cypriote sanctuaries¹²² and clearly formed part of their material culture. In a number of cases, dedicatory inscriptions on ceramic vessels attest to their votive character.¹²³ We note that inscribed vessels have been reported from *Skali* (*Table I*).

Conclusions

We have now a blurry, but valuable picture of Kythrea Temenos, from which comes the material in the collec-

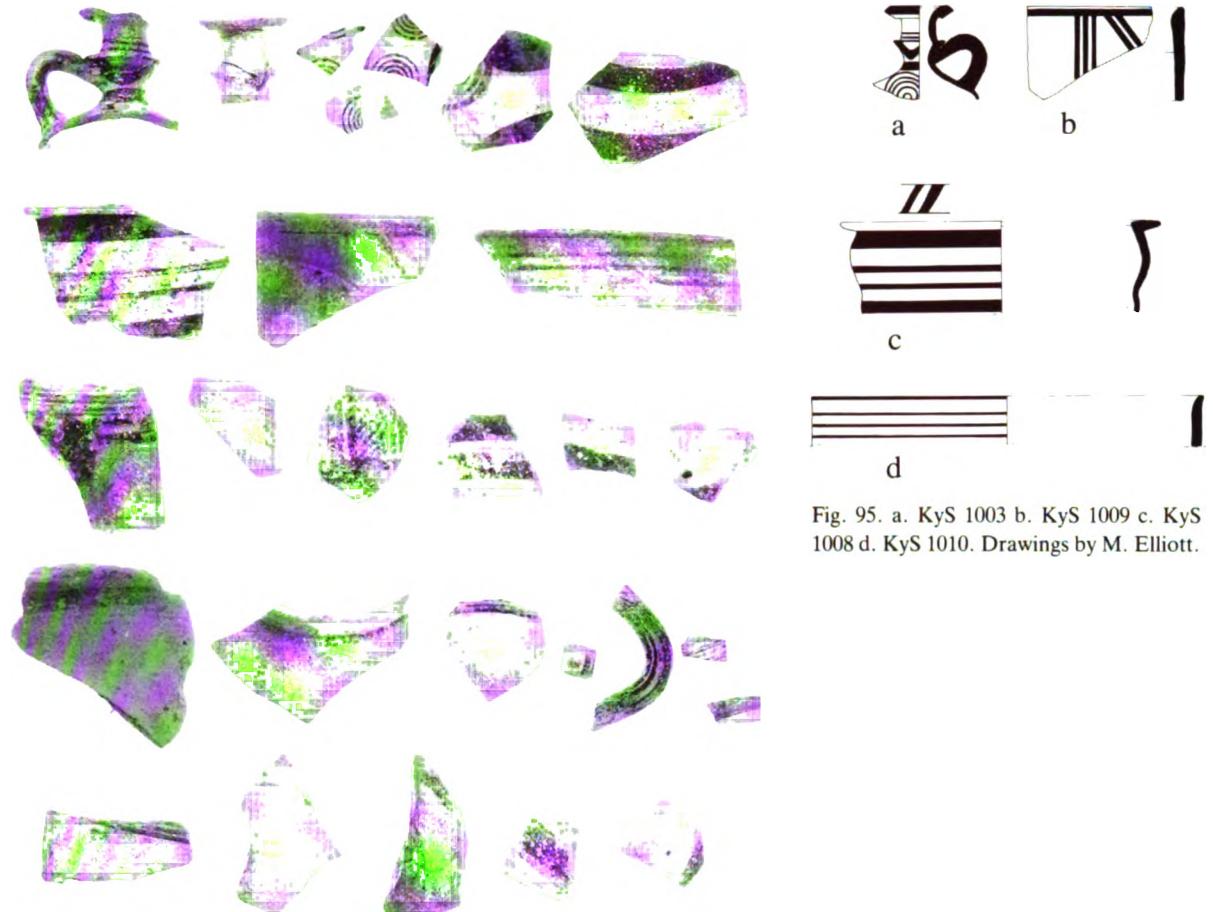


Fig. 94. White Painted Pottery. KyS 1003–1028. Numbering consecutive from top to bottom and left to right.

tions of the Medelhavsmuseet.

The temenos was, in all likelihood, located at *Skali*, a hill site to the north-west of the church of Ajios Demetrianos, in the general area in which earlier research places the city of ancient Chyroi. A more extensive survey, as suggested by Masson,¹²⁴ will need to be undertaken in order to establish the topographical setting of the temenos in relation to the city of Chyroi—both *extramuros* and *intramuros* sanctuaries are known from Archaic Cyprus¹²⁵—and its relationship to the female sanctuary on the near hill of Katsourkas.

The bulk of the painted pottery from Kythrea Temenos belongs to the White Painted Ware. The earliest sherds are Archaic. The sanctuary had a Classical and a Hellenistic phase. Clearly, it is not possible to establish

on the information at hand whether the use of the site had been continuous.

The sanctuary was situated in the proximity of a Late Cypriote site,¹²⁶ as other Archaic sanctuaries,¹²⁷ in a pattern which implies a careful selection of Archaic religious sites with conscious reference to the Late Bronze Age.

The physical appearance of Kythrea *Skali* in the course of its long history remains elusive. A lack of formalized architectural setting characterizes Cypriote cultic sites, at least in the Archaic period. For the Archaic phase one can reckon with the possibility of an open-air sanctuary with no substantial architecture, as we witness it at Ajia Irini and Mersinaki; or with a more structured architectural plan, as exemplified at

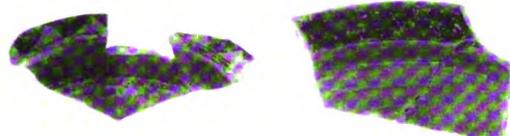
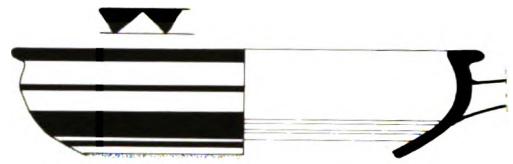


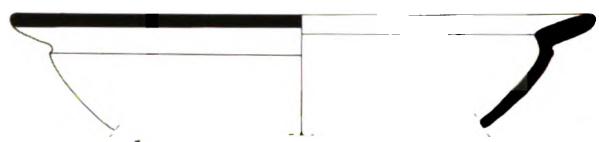
Fig. 96. Bichrome, Black on Red and Black Glazed pottery. KyS 1029–1035. Numbering consecutive from top to bottom and left to right.



Fig. 98. Hellenistic or later pottery. KyS 1036–1041. Numbering consecutive from top to bottom and left to right.



a

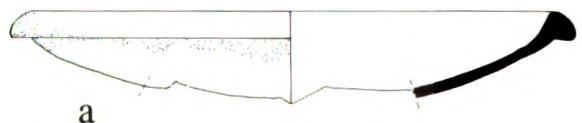


b

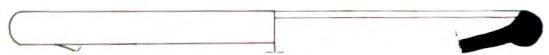


c

Fig. 97. a. KyS 1029 b. KyS 1030 c. KyS 1035. Drawings by M. Elliott.



a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 99. a. KyS 1037 b. KyS 1039 c. KyS 1036 d. KyS 1040 e. KyS 1038. Drawings by M. Elliott.

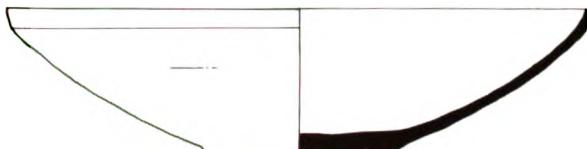


Fig. 100. Plain White Ware. KyS 1042. Drawing by M. Elliott.

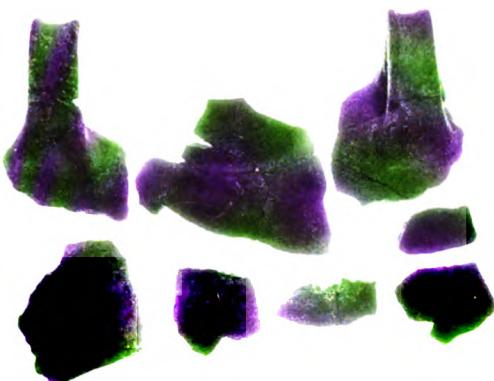
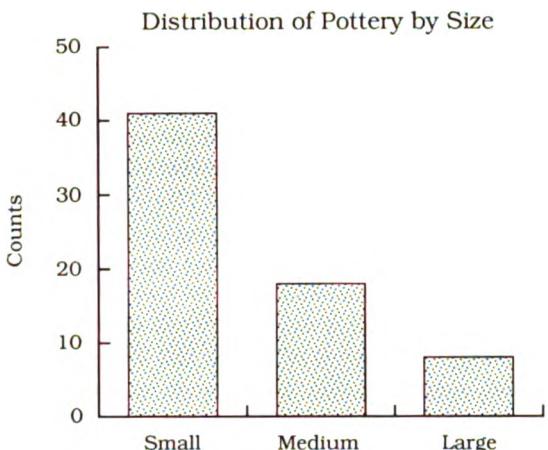


Fig. 101. Coarse Wheelmade Ware. KyS 1043.



Base diameters: Small - 1.8-5.0 cm
Medium - 5.1-8.0 cm
Large - > 8.1 cm

Fig. 102. Distribution of base sherds by size.

Kition *Kathari*, Kition *Bamboula*, and Idalion *Ambelari*. Peristianis, who visited *Skali* in 1909, refers to a temple with stoas and other subsidiary structures,¹²⁸ but gives no information as to the probable date of the structure.

In its Archaic phase, Kythrea *Skali* was a female sanctuary, in a social landscape where a clear division along gender lines was the organizing principle in religious communication. A male sanctuary, perhaps its male counterpart, with hundreds of male statues in limestone and votive inscriptions to Apollo in the Greek alphabet, was located at Voni,¹²⁹ two and one-half kilometers south of Ayios Demetrianos.

Kythrea *Skali* flourished as a member of the Archaic Arsos-Samos complex, a group of sites which shared a common vocabulary of votive imagery. The coastal setting of non-Cypriote members of the Arsos-Samos complex suggests a role for religion in structuring and sustaining trade networks. Kythrea, although an inland site, participated in the network.

The material culture of the sanctuary included sculptures, either in stone or terracotta, ranging in scale

from minute to lifesize; pottery, with a preponderance of White Painted and small-size vessels; and limestone boxes, probably used as incense burners, bearing dedicatory inscriptions. With regard to the sculptures, the material in the Medelhavsmuseet is characterized by a lack of iconographic and thematic diversity.¹³⁰ One notes, in particular, the absence of “votive trees”, which are characteristic of Archaic female sanctuaries.¹³¹ Although they have not been reported from Kythrea *Skali*, they did form part of the terracotta assemblage of KBH 24, the other sanctuary at Kythrea excavated by Ohnefalsch-Richter.

Kythrea *Skali* served as a sanctuary at a time when at least three different ethnic groups are linguistically attested on Cyprus: the Eteocypriotes, the Greeks and the Phoenicians. Vermeule¹³² has proposed to see a message of ethnicity in the style and dress of Archaic/Classical Cypriote sculpture. Most of the sculptural material from the *Skali* corresponds to types typically Cypriote—terracottas cast in a frontal mold in the Neo-Cypriote style, and stone sculptures in a frontal position clad in a non-pleated garment. If Vermeule’s thesis is

correct, the stylistic assignment of the sculptures from the temenos suggests that it was frequented mostly by Cypriotes. Rules of inclusion would have been more flexible as KyS 8 and KyS 17, both in Cypro-Egyptian style, might have been brought to the sanctuary by a dedicant with an Egyptian/Phoenician affiliation. We do note, however, that figurines of *Dea Tyria Gravida*, a type linked to the Phoenicians and already reported from sites on the island,¹³³ do not occur within the assemblage of Kythrea Temenos.

The name of *Paphia* occurs on most of the syllabic inscriptions. The names of *Golgia* and *Ylates* are also attested, suggesting that the temenos was not always

tied to one deity only. *Paphia* and *Golgia* are usual epithets to Aphrodite, *Ylates* to Apollo;¹³⁴ but there are cases in which they stand alone. It has been proposed that they might correspond to earlier deities assimilated with Greek gods.¹³⁵ In all but one of the inscriptions from Kythrea the epithets stand alone and, assuming that the premise is correct, point to the ancestry of the cult at Chyroi.

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I am grateful to Dr. Eva Rystedt and Ms. Marie-Louise Winbladh for permission to publish this material and take samples for petrographic and pigment analysis. For their collaboration with the technical studies, I wish to thank Dr. Josef Riederer and Ms. Anna Svärdh. The analysis of pigments took place in the Department of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation of the Central Board of National Antiquities, Stockholm, thanks to permission from Dr. Mille Törnblom, the director of the Material Analysis Department, to whom we are very grateful.

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A warm thanks is also due to Ms. Anna-Lena Forsman of the Department of Material Analysis and Archaeological Conservation, who ably and patiently cleaned and restored all material presented in this article; to Kjell Malmgren for bringing to our attention additional material from Kythrea Temenos in the storerooms of the Medelhavsmuseet; to Martin Ö. Mattsson for the excellent photographs of the Kythrea material and for locating the terracottas from Kythrea Kamilostrada in the so-called Accession collection of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition; to Wolfgang Michaelis for the excellent quality of the thin sections; and to M. Elliott for the pottery drawings.

The article is restricted to the material from Kythrea Temenos in the Medelhavsmuseet and to secondary literature. The so-called Accession collection of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at the Medelhavsmuseet lists six terracottas from the locality *Kamilostrada* at Kythrea, Acc. 565, 567–571, Kjell Andersson, 'The Cyprus Collection in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm', *MedMusB* 17, 1982, 28. Of these, Acc. 571 has not been relocated, while the identification of Acc. 565 with the piece presented is highly probable, though not certain. Comparanda for the small-scale terracottas are drawn exten-

sively from the Arsos collection in the Cyprus Museum (C583-C706, excluding C583, C622, C644, C648 and C672), which I had the opportunity to study thanks to permission from Dr. C. Louloupis. My warm thanks to Mr. G. Christou of the Cyprus Museum for accommodating my research. Female terracottas presented by H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of terracottas in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum*, London 1903, are used peripherally in the discussion. I had the opportunity to study these figurines thanks to a kind permission by Dr. B.F. Cook and to the courtesy of the personnel of the Greek and Roman Department at the British Museum. Of these I thank especially Dr. Lucilla Burn, Louise Schofield, Lloyd Gallimore, Kim Overend and Susan Smith. I also wish to thank Dr. Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and Dr. John Lund for permission to study the terracottas from the excavations at Lindos in the National Museum in Copenhagen; Dr. John Lund and Dr. Lone Sørensen for assistance with the study of the pottery; Sabine Sten, Berit Sigvallius and Dr. Per Ericson for access to the statistical software and computer facilities of the Osteology Division of the Department of Antiquities in Stockholm.

In this article comparanda are restricted primarily to material from sanctuary sites. Sculptures in museum collections without secure provenance are not brought into the discussion. With the exception of inscriptions from Kythrea, reference to material from the Cesnola collection is made mainly in the footnotes; contexts and provenances given in the *Atlas* should be treated with caution.

A more comprehensive presentation of Kythrea Temenos would have necessitated travel to Cyprus to study, as Dr. Catling suggests (letter of May 28, 1992), areal photographs of the locality of Ayios Demetrianos and the records and finds from Kythrea in the Cyprus Museum (survey work/excavation). Sculptures 5201–5399 in J.L. Myres, *A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, Oxford 1899, are listed as coming from Kythrea. A more extensive museum search abroad might also lead to more unpublished finds from Kythrea Temenos, especially from the excavations of Ohnfalsch-Richter and Cesnola.

Abbreviations in addition to those listed in *AJA* 95, 1991, 4–16:

<i>A. Iakovos</i>	E. Sjöqvist, 'The cult places at Dhima', in <i>SCE</i> I, 355–370.
<i>Arkos</i>	A. Westholm, 'Arkos', in <i>SCE</i> III, 583–600.
<i>Atlas</i>	L.P. di Cesnola, <i>A descriptive atlas of the Cesnola collection of Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i> (I–III), New York 1884–1903.
<i>A. Varnavas</i>	M. Yon, <i>Salamine de Chypre V: Un dépôt de sculptures archaïques</i> , Paris 1974.
<i>Constantinople</i>	G. Mendel, <i>Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite (Musées impériaux ottomans)</i> , Constantinople 1908.
<i>Enkomi</i>	M. Hadjicosti, 'More evidence for a Geometric and Archaic rural shrine of a female divinity at Enkomi', <i>RDAC</i> 1989, 111–120.
<i>ICS</i>	O. Masson, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> (Études Chypriotes, 1), Paris 1983.
<i>Kamelarga</i>	J.L. Myres, 'V. Larnaka: Kamelarga. Graeco-Phoenician sanctuary with votive terracottas', in 'Excavations in Cyprus in 1894', <i>JHS</i> 17, 1897, 164–169.
<i>KBH</i>	M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, <i>Kypros, die Bibel und Homer</i> , Berlin 1893.
<i>Kition</i>	E. Gjerstad, 'Kition', in <i>SCE</i> III, 1–75.
<i>Lapithos</i>	M. Yon & A. Caubet, 'Un culte populaire de la grande déesse à Lapithos', <i>RDAC</i> 1988(2), 1–16.
<i>Lindos</i>	Chr. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos, fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914</i> , I: <i>Les petits objets</i> , Berlin 1931.
<i>London</i>	F.N. Pryce, <i>Catalogue of sculptures in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities of the British Museum</i> , I, London 1928.
<i>Louvre</i>	A. Hermay, <i>Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre, sculptures (Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales)</i> , Paris 1989.
<i>Mersinaki</i>	A. Westholm, 'Mersinaki', in <i>SCE</i> III, 340–398.
<i>Rhodos</i>	G. Jacopi, 'Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro II', <i>Clara Rhodos</i> VI–VI, 1933.
<i>Samos</i>	G. Schmidt, <i>Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos (Samos VII)</i> , Berlin 1968.
<i>SCE</i>	<i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931 I–IV</i> , Stockholm 1934–1972.
<i>Vouni</i>	A. Westholm, 'Vouni', in <i>SCE</i> III, 76–298.

The number given in the cited publications is used for all comparanda. In the case of unpublished material, museum inventory numbers are used. Unless otherwise stated, numbers used in connection with the *Louvre* publication refer to the inventory numbers of the sculptures and not to pages. Numbers denoting inscriptions from *ICS* and sites from *KBH* are italicized.

¹ Four of the boxes, all containing sculptures, were first located at Fredsgatan placed near material from the Chalcolithic village at Kythrea. The rest of the boxes were found in other storerooms of the Medelhavsmuseet packed together with the finds from the Chalcolithic village.

² Iron Age sanctuaries on Cyprus are characterized by impressive numbers of statuary. In the archaeology of Cyprus, large concentrations of statues, in stone and/or terracotta, are interpreted as diagnostic for sanctuaries, unless the character and state of completion of the statuary is indicative of finds from a sculpture workshop. In this article the terms "sanctuary" and "temenos" are used interchangeably.

³ J.L. Myres & M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, Oxford 1899, 5; *ICS*, 258; I.K. Peristianis, *General history of the island of Cyprus* (in Greek), Nicosia 1910, 820f. Peristianis places the acropolis of Chytnoi at Katsourkas, the hill to the northeast of the church of Ayios Demetrianos, ibid., 814f.

⁴ H. Catling, 'Unpublished finds from Cyprus: (I) Graffiti in the Late Cypriot linear script (II) imported Greek pottery at Chytnoi', *RDAC* 1988(1), 328.

⁵ Cesnola claims to have discovered "two oblong temples" at Kythrea, but gives no information on their topography, A.P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its ancient cities, tombs and temples*, London 1877, 242f. The location of the sites is established thanks to Peristianis, who was led to the area of Cesnola's activity by Stavros Oikonomides, a villager who had collected antiquities on the general's behalf, Peristianis (*supra* n. 3), 813f.

⁶ *ICS*, 400.

⁷ "Obwohl das ganze Terrain schon zur Zeit Cesnola's arg durchwuehlt wurde, gelang es mir doch noch, einige hochwichtige Thonstatuenreste ... auszugraben" (*KBH*, 14). This is site *KBH* 23, in Ohnefalsch-Richter's list of temenoi, situated "auf einem stolzen Huegel mit herrlicher Aussicht." Reference to votive inscriptions in the description of the site suggests strongly that *Skali*—which has produced votive inscriptions—coincides, partly or wholly, with *KBH* 23, as already noted by Masson (*ICS*, 400). Ohnefalsch-Richter lists another temenos in Kythrea *KBH* 24, 15, which he locates within the fortifications of the ancient city of Chytnoi; not sufficient topographical information is given to establish if this is the site of Katsourkas. According to P. Flourenzos (letter of October 2, 1992) "the Cyprus Museum possesses no records concerning the Kythrea *Skali* temenos or the activity of Ohnefalsch-Richter at the same site." Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter (*supra* n. 3), 149–152, list several stone and terracotta sculptures from a temenos at Kythrea (5201–5399) which might be *Skali*, ibid., 5, 149.

⁸ Land registration map, sheet XII 3 E, in the archives of the Medelhavsmuseet. The Chalcolithic village was excavated in plot 78 of the Landregistry Office map, A. Westholm, 'Kythrea', in *SCE* I, 278. The plot lies to the west and northwest of plot 81, and outside the area of the permit. The Chalcolithic village was excavated in the spring of 1930, E. Gjerstad, *Ages and days in Cyprus* (SIMA-PB 12), Göteborg 1980, 25.

⁹ The labeling on the box read Kythrea Temenos 'Skali'. It contained the following stone sculptures: KyS 54, KyS 56, KyS 85, KyS 93. All boxes were labeled by the same hand.

^{9 bis} The area of the village of Kythrea was surveyed by the Department of Lands and Surveys in 1922. Registration sheet 13 shows the village of Kythrea, Skali potamos, and Ayios

Demetrianos. The locality of Ayios Demetrianos is registered on sheets XXII 3. E. 2, XXII 3. E. 1 and XIII 59 E. 2. Skali, Katsourkas and Kamilostrada are located on sheet XIII 59 E. 2. Skali and Katsourkas lie immediately to the north of the locality of Ayios Demetrianos. Katsourkas lies to the east of Skali and Kamilostrada to the northwest of Skali. Skali potamos borders Skali and runs through Ayios Demetrianos. According to these maps, the area of the permit is in Ayios Demetrianos. The expedition appears to have investigated a more extended area, to judge by the finds from Kamilostrada in the collections of the museum. Votive inscriptions with find spots on Skali assert to the presence of a sanctuary, the topographical extent of which should be established through a new reconnaissance. The word Skali read on one of the boxes could have made reference to the hill, or to an area close to the homonymous river.

My thanks to the press and information office of the embassy of Cyprus in Washington, DC, and especially to Mr. Miltos Miltiadou, for copies of the above registration sheets.

¹⁰ Gjerstad (supra n. 8), 137–139.

¹¹ Bakkalaou is mentioned by Gjerstad (supra n. 8), 28f.

¹² Gjerstad (supra n. 8), 137–139.

¹³ “En de nombreux endroits, des traces de fouilles clandestines sont visibles: des fragments de sculptures ont été ramassés en surface...”, ICS, 400.

¹⁴ ICS, 259–265, 416. Of these ICS 249 comes from a necropolis. The attribution of ICS 242, ICS 243 and 249a to Kythereia is probable, though not certain. It is not clear if ICS 241, 247 and 248 are votive.

¹⁵ J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1974, 304.

¹⁶ Masson suggests a Hellenistic date on the form of the genitive, which betrays the influence of the Greek *koiné*, ICS, 265.

¹⁷ G. Ikosi, ‘The terracottas of Ajia Irini: techniques and clays’, in *Acta Cypria III*, Göteborg, in press. I elaborated briefly on some of the implications of this pattern in an unpublished lecture entitled ‘Current research on Ajia Irini at the Medelhavsmuseet’ delivered at the conference on Cypriot archaeology held on November 4–5, 1992 at the Medelhavsmuseet.

¹⁸ The chronology of the style on the basis of the *Kyriaka* found abroad is treated in E. Gjerstad, ‘Foreign relations, sculpture’, in *SCE* V.2, 318–335. *Samos*, 93–98; B. Lewe, *Studien zur archaischen kyprischen Plastik* (diss., J.W. Goethe University), Frankfurt 1975, 88–92; L. W. Sørensen, ‘Early Archaic limestone statuettes in Cypriot style. A review of their chronology and place of manufacture’, *RDAC* 1978, 111–121. The stratigraphy of the Heraion gives a chronological range from c. 720 to c. 560 B.C., following Payne’s Corinthian chronology.

¹⁹ E. Gjerstad, ‘Ajia Irini’, in *SCE* II, 1935, 739, pl. 233:5. The Archaic strata of Ajia Irini have produced two male figurines of the Arsos-Samos complex, A.I. 2440, ibid., pl. 233:1 and A.I. 987.

²⁰ Figurines 40 and 60, cast in a frontal mold, were found in the rectangular building, between the second and third floors. The latest sherds in the intact layer below the third floor belonged to the Cypro-Geometric III, A. *Iakovos*, 369–370. Excavations at the site were very brief (Dr. A. Westholm, personal communication, November 5, 1992). A dearth of finds characterizes the site. A Classical/Hellenistic statuette is

the latest datable object.

²¹ T. Monloup, *Salamine de Chypre XII: Les figurines de terre cuite de tradition archaïque*, Paris 1984, 190. Figurine 677 comes from the Archaic debris of the rampart. The head is not preserved (ibid., 188). The type of dress is current on Neo-Cypriote figurines cast in a frontal mold. Campanopetra gives valuable stratigraphic information for a related series representing male figurines: figurine 670 was found in an Archaic context, in association with Cypro-Archaic IV pottery (ibid., 185); figurines 646 and 647 were found in the debris of the Archaic rampart ibid., 175–176. Additional male figurines illustrated in the publication are candidates for increasing the list upon closer inspection. Figurine 152, V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis III (Salamis V)*, Haarlem 1974, pl. 166 from the fill of tumulus 77 in the necropolis of Salamis is a fragment from the upper body of a male figurine similar to terracottas 644 and 645 from Campanopetra, Monloup, ibid., pl. 32.

²² V. Karageorghis & A. Hermary, *La nécropole d’Amathonte tombes 113–367* (*Études Chypriotes*, 9). Nicosia 1987, Index II, 51, pl. 13. A wealth of figurines of this generalized type comes from the necropolis of Amathus. The figurines were found in Archaic tombs with later chronological components. The final publication of the necropolis will establish those securely associated with Archaic burials.

²³ Kourion, 4, 48.

²⁴ A terracotta figurine from bothros 17 of Temple 4 at Kition might be added to the list of figurines with chronological contexts, Karageorghis, *Kition* (infra n. 122), pl. 104. The figurine appears to have been cast in a frontal mold. The cast is very poor, impeding stylistic analysis. Its context gives a date c. 800–450, G. Clerc, V. Karageorghis, E. Lagarce & J. Leclant, *Fouilles de Kition II. Objets égyptiens et égyptisants*. Nicosia 1976, 10. A comprehensive study of Cypriote terracottas dividing them into workshops and schools is still to be undertaken. First articles in this direction have appeared by A. Caubet & M. Yon, ‘Ateliers de figurines à Kition’, in *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age. Proceedings of the seventh British Museum colloquium April 1988*, ed. V. Tatton-Brown, London 1989, 28–43 and *Lapithos*. An attempt to divide the material in stylistic groupings has been made by St. Böhm, *Die ‘nackte Göttin’. Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter weiblicher Figuren in der frühgriechischen Kunst*. Mainz am Rhein 1990, 109–113.

²⁵ Strong parallelisms between the Samos and Arsos terracottas led Schmidt to propose that the Samian *Kyriaka* were imports from Arsos, although he carefully did not exclude the possibility that there might have been other centers on the island producing similar types. He writes: “Arsos hat mit seinen bisher identifizierten Stücken den grössten Anspruch auf die führende Werkstatt. Die in Idalion und Aradippo gefundenen Terracotten mögen Streustücke von Arsos sein, wie sie auch nach Kourion von Arsos verschlagen wurden; es wäre aber durchaus möglich, dass an diesen Orten auch Terracottenmanufakturen bestanden, die nach Samos lieferten ...” (*Samos*, 130). Young and Young assume that figurines from Kourion which find identical counterparts in the Arsos material were imported from Arsos, *Kourion*, 48. Schmidt (*Samos*, 129), noted the following parallels between the terracottas from Samos and Arsos, some of which correspond to figurines cast in molds that were identical or only differed in size: C609

and T 2085; C698 and T 636; C598 and T 1765, T 643; C 659 and T 639+ 653; C588 and T 121 + 2605; C660 and T 379; C623 and T 2074; Arsos 540 and T 385; C586, T 200, T 345, Berlin Sa 107.

The publication of material from additional temenoi and a study of the terracottas from Ajios Iakovos show that Arsos types occur at other sanctuary sites, in some cases dominating the assemblage. A more detailed consideration of the Arsos material extends the comparisons noted by Schmidt. To the additional parallelisms cited in *Tables 2–5* the following can be added: Samos Sa 108 (*Samos*, pl. 22), Arsos C693 and figurine 31 from Delos (*Delos*, pl. 3); T 1935 (*Samos*, pl. 23) and T 2362 (*ibid.*, pl. 124) with Arsos C692, figurine 75 from A. Iakovos and 2059 from Lindos (*ibid.*, pl. 124); Arsos C623 and 2021 from Lindos; Arsos C703 and figurine 27 from A. Iakovos; Sa 107, T 200 (*ibid.*, pl. 19), T 345 (*ibid.*, pl. 19) with Arsos C586 and C589 and figurine 41 from A. Iakovos. The new evidence compels us to define the Arsos-Samos complex, a group of sites sharing common terracotta series. The complex is named after the two sites, on Cyprus and abroad, which have produced the largest quantities of terracottas of the series. On Cyprus Arsos, Ajios Iakovos, and Enkomi form the core of the Arsos complex. Apart from the surface finds in Area III at Enkomi, terracottas of the Arsos-Samos complex have been reported from Tomb 33, A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith & H.B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Oxford 1969 (photolithographic reprint), 26, fig. 53. Terracottas of the Arsos-Samos series have also been reported from Lapithos, Campanopetra and Idalion. We note that finds from Achna show clearly that the sanctuary followed its own tradition, within the Neo-Cypriote style. Material studies should assist in determining whether the actual production for the Arsos-Samos series was centralized and whether the *Kyriaka* found in Greek sites were actually imports. The report of a mould Myres & Ohnfalsch-Richter (supra n. 3), 151, object 5337, from a temenos at Kythrea explored by Ohnfalsch-Richter suggests local production at least for the final products, though not necessarily for the moulds. "Wasters" of vases and terracottas of reportedly seventh century style have been found at the locality *Asprovouno*, to the north of the village of Kythrea, indicating a production workshop, *ARDAC* 1955, 17.

²⁶ E.g., see V. Karageorghis, 'A "favissa" at Kakopetria', *RDAC* 1977, 178–199, esp. pls. 59–60, 79; *KBH*, pl. 11:7, 9, 12–14; pl. 12, 6–14; pl. 68:4–6; pl. 210:5–7, 19, 23 (the material from Achna); *Vouni*, pl. 41:8–9; pl. 79:5–7, pl. 80 (finds from the Palace, the Deposit of Sculptures and the Temple of Athena); N. Serwint, 'The terracotta sculpture from Marion', in *Cypriote terracottas*, eds. F. Vandebaele & R. Laffineur, Brussels & Liege 1991, pls. 54c-d, 55c-d (the material from the male sanctuary at Marion); T. Monloup, 'The offering-bearers and the Great Goddess, or a Cypro-classical female sanctuary at Salamis', in *Acta Cypria* 2, Jonsered 1992, figs. 2–40; A. Westholm, *The temples of Soli*, pl. 24:6–12, *Kourion*, pl. 16, Karageorghis, *Kition* (infra n. 122), pls. 98–99. Later terracottas, allegedly from Kythrea, are in the Cesnola collection: figurines 50 (*Atlas II*, pl. 7), 251 (*ibid.*, pl. 30), 270–271, 273 (*ibid.*, pl. 32), 282, 284, 286 (all *ibid.*, pl. 34), 310–311 (*ibid.*, pl. 38), 340–343 (*ibid.*, pl. 43), 493–495 (*ibid.*, pl. 59). Figurine 136 (*ibid.*, pl. 18) is allegedly from a tomb at Kythrea. 303–308 (all *ibid.*, pl. 38) are said to be from Kythrea or Soli. 5266 from one of the temenoi at Kythrea excavated by Ohnfalsch-Richter is said to be in Greek style, Myres & Ohnfalsch-Richter (supra n. 3), 150; 5336 is a Tanagra head, *ibid.*, 151.

²⁷ Stylistically, the sculptures in stone from Arsos cover a broad span, with examples in the Proto-Cypriote, Neo-Cypriote, Cypro-Egyptian, Sub-Archaic and Hellenistic styles, *Arsos*, 583–600; for the pre-Hellenistic sculptures see E. Gjerstad, 'Sculpture', in *SCE*, IV,2, 1948, 92–129, esp. the tables on p. 93; for the Hellenistic J.B. Connelly, *Votive sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, 20–43, 115, chart II. The latest sculptures are dated stylistically to the early part of the first century B.C. *ibid.*, 18. Only part of the terracottas from Arsos were published in the report on the site by Westholm. Westholm does not refer to the finds from Kythrea in his treatment of the Arsos material—it appears that the Kythrea material had not been brought to his attention back then.

²⁸ V. Karageorghis 'The goddess with uplifted arms in Cyprus', *Scripta Minor* 1977–1978, 5–45, refers to the type as a "goddess with uplifted arms", a term which has persisted in the literature. I refrain from using it; there has, as yet, been no strong argument that the type represents a goddess. Karageorghis identification with "a goddess connected with fertility", *ibid.*, 5, follows that of St. Alexiou, "The Minoan goddess with uplifted arms" (in Greek), *Kretika Chronika* 12, 1958, 179–299; Karageorghis gives more latitude to his own interpretation: "occasionally we may have representations of priestesses of the goddess, who incarnate the actual Goddess", *ibid.*, 13.

²⁹ Ajios Iakovos, Kition *Kathari* and Kition *Bamboula* have produced moldmade terracottas and terracottas with uplifted arms. For Ajios Iakovos, A. *Iakovos*, pl. 68:6, 18, 29, 31, 44 and figurine 12 described in the list of finds (*A. Iakovos*, 364); for Kition *Kathari* F. Vandebaele, 'The terracottas of the Cypro-Geometric period' in *Cypriote terracottas* (supra n. 26), 67f. Karageorghis (supra n. 28), 8–9, 16–17; pls. 1:1–7; 2:3, 5; 3; for Kition *Bamboula*, KEF 728, KEF 770, KEF 772, KEF 789, KEF 845 belong to this type. I thank Dr. M. Yon for permission to study this material.

³⁰ Vandebaele (supra n. 29). Karageorghis (supra n. 28).

³¹ Terracottas with uplifted arms form the leading iconographic type in the temenos at Peristeries, Serwint (supra n. 26), 217. From Palaepaphos the type has been reported from the Siege Mound, E. Erdmann, *Nordosttor und persische Belagerungsrampe in Alt-Paphos* (*Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern*, 4), Konstanz 1977, pl. 13 (bottom row) pl. 14:554, 597—the heads with a polos on pls. 14–15 might very well belong to figurines of the same type. Terracottas with uplifted have been reported from the site of the temple, T.B. Mitford & J.H. Iliffe, 'Excavations at Kouklia (old Paphos)', Cyprus, 1950', *The Antiquaries Journal* 31, 1951, fig. 5:3, 4, 7; pl. 11:1, 8; F.G. Maier, 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos)', ninth preliminary report: season 1976', *RDAC* 1977, pl. 30:1–2; F.G. Maier, 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos)', tenth preliminary report: season 1977 and 1978', *RDAC* 1979, pl. 18:2. Terracottas with uplifted arms characterize the assemblage from Yeroskipou *Monagri*. My thanks to M.C. Louloupis for permission to look at this material. Karageorghis (supra n. 28), pls. 6:9 and 9:2–3 illustrates three terracottas from *Monagri*.

³² A. *Iakovos*, pl. 68:14 and figurine 46 described on p. 365.

³³ Several figurines from Arsos belong to this type, some of which cast in the same mold: C650, C652, C653, C654 and

C664 are identical. C673 differs only in that the head looks slightly to the right, than to the left as C650 and its group of identical figurines. C645, C646, C651, C660, C662, C663, C680 and C682 belong to precisely the same iconographic type. Differences in the proportions of the body will place them in different series generated by different archetypes. C592, C605, C606, C616, C647, C658 belong to precisely the same iconographic type, but are cast in a deeper mold with clearer definition. C649 and C659, from the same mold, belong to the same series as C650 and its group; here the difference lies in a slight modification of the earrings. Ear caps in two registers, each composed of juxtaposed vertical partitions, adorn the ears replacing the stud earrings.

³⁴ C649, C650, C652, C653, C654, C659, C673. There are no records on the conservation history of these terracottas. I assume that the color scheme is original. It is possible that it was enhanced at conservation.

³⁵ Figurine 230 (*Atlas II*, pl. 28) in the Cesnola collection gives a parallel for to KyS 1 and KyS 3; allegedly, it comes from a tomb in Palaeo Limassol or Amathus. 235 and 239 (*Atlas II*, pl. 29), allegedly from Aradippou, give additional parallels.

³⁶ Gjerstad (supra n. 18), 330 grouped similar figurines, as that from tomb XXVII in Cameiros, *Rhodos*, 84, fig. 91; 90, fig. 102, in the second Proto-Cypriote style. Although the modelling is not as organic as in the Neo-Cypriote style, the flat and heavy cheeks of the Kameiros figurine are determining in classifying the piece in the Neo-Cypriote rather than the Proto-Cypriote style. Lewe (supra n. 18), 88–89, also places the terracotta from Kameiros in an early phase of the Neo-Cypriote style.

³⁷ A figurine from Idalion illustrated by Ohnfalsch-Richter appears to be of the same style, but the photograph is not clear. Here the gesture is different: the figurine has the hands resting on the breasts, *KBH*, pl. 52:18.

³⁸ To the examples of females holding a bird gathered by Blinkenberg in his discussion of statuettes 1646–1651 from Lindos, *Lindos*, 417–418, pl. 67, we add examples in terracotta from Arsos (e.g., C694, C695, C699, C701, C703, C705) and Achna (e.g., A70, A75–A80, *KBH*, 210:2—examples restricted to the Neo-Cypriote series). Free standing figurines of birds have been reported from Ajios Iakovos (*A. Iakovos*, pl. 68:33, 47), Lindos (*Lindos*, 480–481, pl. 88 top row), Delos (*Delos*, 46, pl. 2; 28); Samos (in stone *Samos*, 64–65, C 72, C 74–C 76, C 80, C 83 all on pl. 112; C 79, C 81, C 86, C 194 all on pl. 113; C 77, C 82 both on pl. 114; in terracotta, *Samos*, 45, 47, T 158, T 818, T 1498, T 2344 all on pl. 89). The bird as an attribute of male statues is rare, but does occur, e.g., C 112 (*London*, 52), C 118 (ibid., 53), C 124 (ibid., 54), C 128 (ibid., 55), C 131 (ibid., 57), C 136 (ibid., 58), C 159 (ibid., 64); *Kition*, pl. 24:1; *Atlas I*, pl. 65:431; *KBH*, pl. 41:1, 2, 7, 9; J.L. Myres, ‘Excavations in Cyprus, 1913’, *BSA* 41, 1940–1945, pls. 19:432–433, 21:552–554. Mersinaki has produced sculptures representing birds, either as part of larger statues (e.g., nos. 625, 636, 778) or free-standing (e.g., nos. 756, 875), *Mersinaki*, 352, 353, 361, 363, 367. Sculpture 620 from Mersinaki represents a child holding a bird (*Mersinaki*, 352).

³⁹ *Lapithos*, pl. III:28.

⁴⁰ For the examples in the Louvre, *Lapithos*, 10–11, pl. 4. For the examples in the British Museum, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum*, London 1903, 23, 26, pls. 2 and 3.

Nos. 32–35 in the Louvre have a columnar body thrown on the wheel. A 133, A 144 and A 146 in the British Museum also have a wheelmade body. In A 129 the body is handmade. Additional examples from Lapithos are in the Cyprus Museum. B 48 has a wheelmade body, F. Vandenabeele, ‘Kourotophoi in the Cypriote terracotta production,’ *RDAC* 1988(2), pl. 7, 5 right and V. Karageorghis, *Ancient Cyprus, 7000 years of art and archaeology*, 1981, 155, lower row left.

Desmond Morris, *The art of ancient Cyprus*, Oxford 1985, pls. 202, 203 left, 205, reports identical figurines from his collection. We also find them in French collections, A.J. De-caudin, *Les antiquités chypriotes dans les collections publiques françaises*, Nicosia 1987, pls. 31:62, 64, 65; 90:2 (top), 5 (bottom); and in the collections of the Medelhavsmuseet, G. Walberg, ‘Some Cypriote and Palestinian pottery and figurines’, *MedMusB* 9, 1974, pl. 8:36 and 37.

⁴¹ C612, C641, C643, C657, C661, C666, C668, C669, C670, C671, C674, C674A, C676, C679. For a color illustration of a figurine of this type see T. Spiteris, *Art de Chypre des origines à l'époque romaine*, Lauzanne 1970, 155.

⁴² Figurine 64 in the Cesnola collection (*Atlas II*, pl. 9) gives a parallel; it comes, allegedly, from a tomb at Kouklia.

⁴³ *Samos*, 16. T 2651 (*Samos*, pl. 25), T 2274 (pl. 19).
⁴⁴ For Samos, T 1945, T 644, T 140, T 1772 (all *Samos*, pl. 25); T 1917 (pl. 6).

⁴⁵ *Samos*, 84, 97. Figurine no. 75 from Ajios Iakovos was found in a surface layer (*A. Iakovos*, 366).

⁴⁶ *Samos*, 16. A reliable reading of the clay of 2063 from Lindos was not possible due to the wash.

⁴⁷ C. Vermeule, ‘Cypriote sculpture, the late Archaic and early Classical periods: towards a more precise understanding,’ *AJA* 78, 1974, 287–290.

⁴⁸ Inv. 030, an unprovenanced terracotta in the Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels is identical to KyS 8, R. Margos, ‘Les ateliers de Kition à travers les figurines de terre cuite du Chypre-Archaïque II des musées royaux d’art et d’histoire (Bruxelles)’, *Centre d’études chypriotes*, cahier 15, 1991, 41f.. pl. 12:24.

⁴⁹ For 2064 see L.W. Sørensen, ‘Cypriote terracottas from Lindos in the light of new discoveries’, in *Cypriote terracottas* (supra n. 26), pl. 69a; *Lindos*, pl. 93. For KEF 626 see Caubet & Yon (supra n. 24), 41, fig. 7b. Decaudin (supra n. 40), pl. 62:128, gives an example now in France.

⁵⁰ Several figurines from Arsos wear a comparable headdress. C609, C613, C694, C695, C699, C701, C703 and C705 are among the clearer examples. A similar headdress might be worn by a series of handmade figurines from Lapithos, *Lapithos*, pls. 1 and 2.

⁵¹ E.g., from Arsos C588, C656, C593, C594, C596, C599, C601, C610, C611, C613, C700; figurine 53 from Ajios Iakovos; B 130 from Cameiros; A 95 and A 99 from Tomb 33 at Enkomi; 2033 from Lindos; nos. 11 and 12 from Enkomi, Area III (*Enkomi*, 114); Acc. 568 and Acc. 570 from Kythrea Kamilostrada.

⁵² Two additional terracottas in the Cesnola collection have the same pose. 268 (*Atlas II*, pl. 32) is a type known from the Achna series similar to A70 and comes, allegedly, from Amathus. 204 and 206 (*Atlas II*, pl. 25) also show the same pose. They were allegedly found in tombs in Palaeo Limassol.

⁵³ 2044 from Lindos (*Samos*, pl. 123); no. 325 from Naukratis (*Samos*, pl. 123); nos. 15 and 16 from Enkomi, Area III

(*Enkomi*, 116, pl. 23). 1969/2–10/10 in the British Museum is another example from the same series, in which the dress is painted red. A more elaborate color scheme on C609, a figurine of the same type, is described in detail by Schmidt (*Samos*, 112).

⁵⁴ The belt is indicated in paint in 1679, a stone statue from Lindos clad similarly, *Lindos*, pl. 68:1679.

⁵⁵ Figurine 95 in the Cesnola collection holds a tympanon. It comes, allegedly, from Aradippou, *Atlas* II, pl. 13.

⁵⁶ Figurine 1752 from Ajia Irini is illustrated in Gjerstad (supra n. 19), pl. 233:5. Several examples of sculptures in stone wearing a collar are in the Cesnola collection. 6 (*Atlas* I, pl. 4), 7 (pl. 5), 212 (pl. 33), 279 (pl. 42), 280 (pl. 43). They are said to come from Golgoi.

⁵⁷ *Samos*, pl. 29. 2031 from Lindos is stylistically closer to KyS 15 than to the other terracottas from Lindos in the collection in Copenhagen.

⁵⁸ *Samos*, 74f.

⁵⁹ Arsos C609 (*Samos*, pl. 59), T 24 (*Samos*, pl. 49), T 701 (pl. 59), T 1379 (pl. 49) and T 2085 (pl. 59), to give only a few examples. This type of jewelry is typical of terracottas in Neo-Cypriote style—e.g., Böhm (supra n. 24), pls. 38e, 42a. A similar piece of jewelry, allegedly from Kourion, is in the Cesnola collection, *Atlas* III, pl. 8:2.

⁶⁰ Most of the body is missing. The preserved height, to the breasts, measures 8.1 cm. I thank Dr. B.F. Cook of the Greek and Roman Department at the British Museum for permission to study 1969.2–10.16.

⁶¹ C340 and C341, *London*, 115f.; *KBH*, pl. 210:18–20, 23.

⁶² These are figurines 34, 80 and 132 found in the fill of the tumulus, Karageorghis (supra n. 21), 140, 143, 145, 192, pl. 166.

⁶³ They are all allegedly from Soli or Kythrea. 274–278, 280 (all *Atlas* II, pl. 33) and 304–306, 308–311 (all *Atlas* II, pl. 38). Additional dancers, originally part of the Cesnola collection, are now in Torino, Felice Gino Lo Porto, *La collezione cipriota del Museo di antichità di Torino* (*Archaeologia*, 64), Rome 1986, 156f., nos. 352–354, pl. 33.

⁶⁴ A. Varnavas, 93, pl. 31.

⁶⁵ A. Varnavas, 69, fig. 27, right.

⁶⁶ *KBH*, pls. 11:4, 8; 12, 8–9; Monloup (supra n. 21), 187, fig. 14.

⁶⁷ For example, C620, C624, C627, C629, C671, C684 in the Cyprus Museum provide parallels from Arsos; from Amathus, Karageorghis & Hermary (supra n. 22), pl. 12:57–59; pl. 13:61, 64–67; pl. 14:62, 68–75; for examples from Achna see *KBH*, pl. 11:4–6, pl. 68:1, A63–A68, A71. Böhm (supra n. 24), pl. 38e illustrates an example, allegedly from Dali. Several examples in the Cesnola collection are said to come from mortuary contexts. E.g., Böhm, *ibid.*, pls. 38c–d, 39b, nos. 192–193, 195–198 (all *Atlas* II, pl. 24) are allegedly from Amathus; no. 191 (*ibid.*, pl. 24) from Kiti; nos. 18 and 19 (both *ibid.*, pl. 3) are said to come from tombs at Aghia Paraskevi; no. 20 (*ibid.*, pl. 3) from Salines. T 1397 (*Samos*, pl. 49), T 2395 and T 2639 (*ibid.*, pl. 29) present examples from the Samian *Kypraka*.

⁶⁸ By analogy to figurines from Arsos from the same series as KyS 10. This is an approximate height for C599 measured on a photograph with scale.

⁶⁹ R.V. Nicholls, ‘Type, group and series: a reconsideration of some coroplastic fundamentals’, *BSA* 47, 1952, 217–226. The

material from Kythrea does not lend itself to a study of mold series generated by a degradation in size and alterations of parent molds in younger generations.

⁷⁰ E.g., T 1397 (*Samos*, pl. 49), T 1151 + 2648 + 2652, T 893 (both pl. 50).

⁷¹ KyS 26 is fragmentary and compatible with the Generalized Basic Series. Petrographically it groups with KyS 15.

⁷² *Samos*, 88, 96.

⁷³ *KBH*, pl. 48:4. The terracotta illustrated in *KBH*, pl. 55:5–6, *KBH*, 407 was found with it; it finds no parallel in the material in the Medelhavsmuseet. AM 3450, AM 3664 and AM 3678 in the Louvre, published by Caubet, are the legacy of Cesnola’s investigations and come allegedly from Kythrea. A. Caubet, ‘Recherche sur les ateliers de terre cuite de la partie occidentale de Chypre’, in *Cypriote terracottas* (supra n. 26), 109–114, pls. 26, 27a, b.

⁷⁴ Ikosi (supra n. 17).

⁷⁵ J. Riederer, ‘The microscopic analysis of Egyptian pottery from the Old Kingdom’, in *Akten des 4. Inter. Ägypt. Kongr. München 1985*, 1989, 221–230.

⁷⁶ Dr. Westholm informs me (letter of August 9, 1992) that acid was used in cleaning artefacts.

⁷⁷ The use of manganese paints to produce dark and black colors has been documented for Archaic pottery from Cyprus. W. Noll, R. Holm & L. Born, ‘Manganschwarz-Malerei – eine Technik der Ornamentierung antiker Keramik’, *Ber. Dt. Keram. Ges.* 50, 1973, 328–333; W. Noll, ‘Techniken der Dekoration antiker Keramik – Antique ceramic decoration techniques’, *Ber. Dt. Keram. Ges.* 59, 1982, 3–11; W. Noll, R. Holm & L. Born, ‘Material und Techniken antiker Vasenmalerei’, *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 10, 1973, 103–126; *idem*, ‘Bemalung antiker Keramik’, *Angewandte Chemie* 87, 1975, 646. The technique is known as the manganese black technique, R.E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot pottery: a review of scientific studies* (British School at Athens Fitch laboratory, Occasional paper, 1), Athens 1986, 762–63, 812.

⁷⁸ Terracotta no. 127 in the Musée Château Borely in Marseille invites a stylistic comparison, Decaudin (supra n. 40), pl. 62:127.

⁷⁹ The legs are well defined in terracottas of the series of KyS 5 and KyS 11. There are also figurines belonging to iconographic series comparable to that of KyS 1, differing in style, with well defined legs, e.g., terracotta no. 10, *Kazaphani*, pl. 30:10.

⁸⁰ Serwint (supra n. 26), pl. 52b.

⁸¹ *KBH*, pl. 53:9 and 50. A similar band bracelet in silver, allegedly from Kourion, is in the Cesnola collection, *Atlas* III, pl. 39:11.

⁸² E.g., T 1795+1798 (*Samos*, pl. 75). A similar fragment, Inv II, 118, is reported from Aegina, A. Furtwängler, *Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, München 1906, 379, fig. 309.

⁸³ E.g., Gjerstad (supra n. 19), pls. 224:3–6; 225–226; J. du Plat Taylor, *Myrtou-Pigadhes: a Late Bronze Age sanctuary in Cyprus*, Oxford 1957, pl. 6a–b. Kourion, pl. 12 and D. Buitron, ‘Excavations in the Archaic Precinct at Kourion, 1982’, *RDAC* 1983, 228; M.C. Louloupis, ‘A rural cult place in the Soloi area’, in *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (Proceedings of the seventh British Museum colloquium April 1988), ed. V. Tatton-Brown, London 1989, 83, fig. 16; E. Gjerstad, ‘Idalion’, in *SCE* II, pl. 182:3; J.A. Munro & H.A. Tubbs, ‘Excavations in Cyprus, 1890: third season’s

work. Salamis', *JHS* 12, 1891, 159, fig. 11. Bull figurines are primarily known from male sanctuaries.

⁸⁴ *ICS* 265, n. 2.

^{84bis} See above, n. 9 bis.

⁸⁵ The percentage of inclusions within the matrix is calculated according to G. Ikosi, 'Unpublished terracottas from Ajia Irini', *MedMusB* 26–27, 1991–92, 39, fig. 5.

⁸⁶ The first digit of the accession number on the figurine had been effaced. The height and the description match those for Acc. 565, as no other item in the Accession Collection. Due to the uncertainty of the identification, the implications of the presence of a figurine of an Achna type at Kythrea are not explored.

⁸⁷ A. Caubet, 'Achna, 1882: Réflexion sur les découvertes du sanctuaire Chypro-Archaïque et Classique', in *Studies in honour of Vassos Karageorghis (= Hetaireia Kypriakon Spoudon*, vols. NΔ'-NE', 1990–1991), Nicosia 1992, 261f.

⁸⁸ Lewe (supra n. 18), 9–24, gives a good critique of the system. Authors of museum catalogues on Cypriot sculpture published after Gjerstad's work refrain from applying his stylistic divisions; this exemplifies the difficulties in following his scheme.

⁸⁹ E.g., V. Karageorghis, 'Material from a sanctuary at Potamia', *RDAC* 1979, pl. 37:62, 127, pls. 40–41, pl. 38:10, 143; *idem*, 'A "favissa" at Kazaphani', *RDAC* 1978, pls. 17–19; 21:80; 22:9; 24:17, 57, 86. *Kition*, pls. 6, 10–12, 19–22, 24–26; *Vouni*, pls. 58:4, 59–60.

⁹⁰ E.g., Karageorghis, 'Material ...' (supra n. 89), pl. 39:39, 41, 145; *idem*, 'A "favissa" ...' (supra n. 89), pl. 24:1, 87; *Kition*, pls. 33:4, 35:2, 6; *Vouni*, pls. 62, 63:2, 66–68; *Mersinaki*, pl. 133:7–13; C298–299 (*London*, 108), C323 (*ibid.*, 113).

⁹¹ C271–273 (*London*, 103); 10–11 (A. Varnavas, pl. 5), 13–15 (*ibid.*, pl. 6).

⁹² E.g., C77–79 (*London*, 38).

⁹³ 18 (*Atlas* I, pl. 15), 306 (pl. 52).

⁹⁴ *Louvre*, 690, 695; 44 (A. Varnavas, pls. 13–14), 45 (*ibid.*, pl. 15), 48 (*ibid.*, pl. 16).

⁹⁵ C278–279 (*London*, 105).

⁹⁶ *London*, 96.

⁹⁷ *Lindos*, pl. 68.

⁹⁸ Refer to *Louvre*, 858.

⁹⁹ In C270 (*London*, 102) the arms are along the sides. C159 (*ibid.*, 64), C253 (*ibid.*, 98) and *Louvre*, 791–792, 799–802 hold a musical instrument. In A. Varnavas, pl. 12:42 the hands rest on the breasts.

¹⁰⁰ *Louvre*, 651.

¹⁰¹ *Vouni*, 51f.; *Louvre*, 682, 686, 687; A. Varnavas, pl. 9:35.

¹⁰² E.g., *Louvre*, 640; C49 (*London*, 32); C92–93 (*ibid.*, 45); *Kition*, pls. 14, 18:2; *Arsos*, pl. 188:7; 1660, 1679 (*Lindos*, pl. 68), 1716 (*ibid.*, pl. 70).

¹⁰³ A. Varnavas, pl. 14:44, 46; pl. 16:47; *Kition*, pl. 12:1 and 2; *Vouni*, pls. 52:1, 2; 55:1–2.

¹⁰⁴ *Vouni*, pl. 62:1–3; *Louvre*, 698.

¹⁰⁵ A. Varnavas, 69, fig. 27, left, left figure.

¹⁰⁶ A. Varnavas, pls. 15:46; 17:51, 53; 18:56, 62; 20:64, 71; *Louvre*, 686, 687, 696, 720, 742; *Kition*, pl. 12:1; *Vouni*, pls. 55:1, 3; 58:3; 59:3; 61:1.

¹⁰⁷ From Golgoi, *Louvre*, 749, 751. From Ayios Varnavas, A. Varnavas, pl. 22:84–87.

¹⁰⁸ *London*, 112–117.

¹⁰⁹ A. Varnavas, 64–91, esp. 68 and n. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Louvre*, 698, 720, 733, 739, 746–747, 750–751, 752–754, 755–757.

¹¹¹ *Kition*, pls. 31:2–3; 33:5; 34:4; 35:5, 7; *Vouni*, pls. 66, 67; *Mersinaki*, pls. 127, 128:1–4, 133:1–5, 13.

¹¹² For 520, *Vouni*, pl. 66:3–4, for 739, *Louvre*, on page 366.

¹¹³ A. Varnavas, pl. 24.

¹¹⁴ E.g., *Mersinaki*, pl. 110, *Louvre*, 916. Ayios Photios has produced inscribed specimens *ICS* nos. 264–274, 281.

¹¹⁵ *Louvre*, 791–792, 793–794, 796, 798; *London*, C327, C330, C331 on p. 114, C332, C333 on p. 115, C348 on p. 118, C352 on p. 119.

¹¹⁶ Connelly (supra n. 27), 27f.

¹¹⁷ For Arsos, Connelly (supra n. 27), 28; for Soli. Westholm (supra n. 26), pl. 12:5; for sculptures in the Louvre, *Louvre*, 768.

¹¹⁸ C41 (*London*, 30), C242 (*London*, 97); A. Varnavas, pls. 5:10; 7:17, 18; 8:27; *Louvre*, 646, 800, 801–802; *Arsos*, pl. 188:5–7; *Kition*, pl. 20:3.

¹¹⁹ E.g., from Ajia Irini, Gjerstad (supra n. 19), 796. A group of marble bowls with fragmentary Phoenician inscriptions come from the hill of Batsalos. Some are dedications to Eshmun-Melqart, G. Amadazi & V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition III. Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977, A4–A25, A28. The name of Milkyaton occurs on some of the inscriptions. Peckham dates all of them to his reign, J.B. Peckham, *The development of the Late Phoenician scripts* (Harvard Semitic series, 20), Cambridge, Mass., 1968, 22, n. 52. Stone vessels with inscriptions in the Cypriote syllabary have been reported from Golgoi, *ICS* 291–297. Of these *ICS* 294 bears a dedication to Apollo.

¹²⁰ V. Karageorghis, 'A stone statuette of a sphinx and a note on small limestone thymateria from Cyprus', *RDAC* 1988(2), 89–93; *idem*, *Two Cypriote sanctuaries of the end of the Cypro-Archaic period*, Rome 1977, 39–41; W. Culican, 'Phoenician incense stands', in *Opera Selecta*, Göteborg 1986, 549–569; Louloupis (supra n. 83), 70, n. 1, 72; G. Bakalakis, *Excavation on the hill Giorkous, NE of Athienou, Cyprus* (in Greek) (Library of the Archaeological Society in Athens, no. 108), Athens 1988, 83–89.

¹²¹ Catling (supra n. 4) reports Classical pottery from the locality of Ayios Demetrianos. "At a guess, the vases to which these fragments once belonged were offerings in a sanctuary, for it must be doubtful whether such a series could have come from domestic buildings; the possibility of tomb gifts can be excluded", *ibid.*, 328. Hellenistic sherds have been reported from Kythrea Skali, V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1959', *BCH* 84, 1960, 260.

¹²² Among the pottery, small bowls and juglets predominate at Meniko, Karageorghis, *Two Cypriote sanctuaries* (supra n. 120), figs. 9–10, pl. 14 and Limassol Komissario, *ibid.*, figs. 16–18, pl. 23. Quantities of "small votive vessels" were tightly packed with the terracottas in the Archaic Precinct at Kourion, excavated by McFadden *Kourion*, 4; subsequent excavations in the Archaic Precinct produced quantities of pottery, mostly small jugs, associated with the platform that was built into the foundations of the Archaic rubble altar. D. Buitron, 'Excavations in the Archaic Precinct at Kourion, 1982', *RDAC* 1983, 228. Several small size vessels, mostly juglets from the Archaic sanctuary of Ajia Irini are inventoried in the excavation report, Gjerstad (supra n. 19), table of pottery, p. 812, while

large quantities of finer pottery still lie unprocessed in the storerooms of the Medelhavsmuseet. Miniature vessels have been reported from the Siege Mound, Erdmann (supra n. 31), 72; the bulk of the material from the mound is interpreted as having derived from an *extramuros* Archaic sanctuary, *ibid.*, 1f. A deposit of miniature bowls and juglets was found on floor 3 in the courtyard of Temple 4, a floor dated to the Cypro-Geometric III, V. Karageorghis, *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician discoveries in Cyprus* (New aspects in antiquity), London 1976, p. 108, pl. 84, p. 173.

¹²³ A Corinthian *oinochoe* inscribed after firing in the Paphian signary reads "to teo", indicating that it is the property of the god. The *oinochoe* was found in a pre-Classical context in the sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion, T.B. Mitford, *The inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia 1971, 38–40. A Plain Ware amphora from the Swedish Excavations on Cyprus, now in the Medelhavsmuseet, bears a votive text with a dedication to Apollo inscribed before firing in the the Common syllabary. The inscription is unpublished. Kafizin has produced large quantities of ceramic vessels inscribed with votive texts, T.B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin*, Berlin & New York 1980. Inscribed pottery has also been reported from Kition *Kathari*, V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1968', *BCH* 42, 1969, 526, fig. 158, Karageorghis, *Kition* (supra n. 122), pls. 83, 92, Amadazi & Karageorghis (supra n. 119), 143–175, some with texts of clearly votive character; and Bam-boula, *ibid.*, 136–139.

¹²⁴ *ICS*, 400. Apart from the sanctuaries, Iron Age tombs have been reported from Kythrea, Myres & Ohnfalsch-Richter (supra n. 3), 5; K. Nicolaou, 'Geometric tombs of Kythrea' (in Greek), *RDAC* 1965 30–73; Peristianis (supra n. 3), 856–862. Peristianis also reports prehistoric tombs *ibid.*, 832–836. H. Catling, 'Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus', *OpAth* 4, 1962, 151, 158, 165, reports settlements and cemeteries from all three subdivisions of the Bronze Age.

¹²⁵ E.g., the sanctuary at Palaepaphos which provided the building material for the Siege Mound, was located *extramuros*. The sanctuary at the Western acropolis at Idalion (*Ambelleri*) was built *intramuros*, by the city wall.

¹²⁶ Site no. 148 in the list of Late Cypriote sites, Catling (supra n. 124), 165. Catling reports pithos sherds from no. 148.

¹²⁷ Ikosi (supra n. 17).

¹²⁸ Peristianis (supra n. 3), 814. Catling (supra n. 4) and letter of May 28, 1992, recalls no structures in those areas he surveyed within the locality of Ayios Demetrianos.

¹²⁹ *KBH* 3, 2–7.

¹³⁰ A greater iconographic and thematic diversity characterizes the finds from Kythrea listed in the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum by Myres & Ohnfalsch-Richter (supra n. 3), p. 149–151. The sculptures include nursing mothers, crouching and temple boys, ring-dance groups, birds and other animals.

¹³¹ From *KBH* 3, the female sanctuary at Idalion excavated by Ohnfalsch-Richter pl. 76:5, 9; from *KBH* 24, the second female sanctuary at Kythrea excavated by Ohnfalsch-Richter, *KBH*, pl 76:3, 4, 6–8, 10–12; from *KBH* 1, the Achna sanctuary, *KBH*, 134; from Peristeries, Serwint (supra n. 26), pl. 57e; from Kouklia Palaepaphos (TA), Maier, 'Excavations ... 1977' (supra n. 31), pl. 17:4; Mitford & Ilife (supra n. 31), fig. 5:1–2; pl. 11:3–4. There have been sporadic occurrences of "votive trees" in male sanctuaries, Ikosi (supra n. 85), 80.

¹³² Vermeule (supra n. 47).

¹³³ W. Culican, 'Dea Tyria Gravida', in *Opera Selecta* (supra n. 120), 265–280. Figurines of this type have been reported from Kition *Bamboula*, Caubet & Yon (supra n. 24), 31, figs. 6b, 7a, 9b–d. *Kamelarga* in Larnaca, *Kamelarga*, fig. 15:6. Culican, *ibid.*, refers to figurines of *Dea Tyria Gravida* in the Cesnola collection; they, allegedly, come from a sanctuary at the Salt Lake (Larnaca).

¹³⁴ O. Masson, 'Cultes indigènes, cultes grecs et cultes orientaux à Chypre', in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne, Colloque international du Centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg (22–24 mai 1958)*, Paris 1960, 129–142; S.C. Glover, 'The cults of Apollo in Cyprus: a preliminary survey,' in J.C. Biers & D. Soren (eds.), *Studies in Cypriote Archaeology* (Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, monograph 17), Los Angeles 1981, 145–151; C.G. Bennett, *The cults of the ancient Greek Cypriotes* (diss. University of Pennsylvania), 1980, 270–360, esp. 270–273, 323–326; M. Solomidou-Ieronymidou, 'The ancient religion of Cyprus', *Archeologia Cypria I*, 1985, 61–63.

¹³⁵ E.g., Bennett (supra n. 134), 718f., 749f., Solomidou-Ieronymidou (supra n. 134), 61.

Un Olpe del Pittore della Sfinge Barbuta

Charlotte Johansson

Alla collezione del Medelhavsmuseet appartiene, dal 1965, un olpe etrusco-corinzio al numero inventariale MM 1965:27, di provenienza vulcente (*Figg. 1–9*). L'oggetto fu recuperato dalla tomba 72 insieme, tra l'altro, ad un vaso d'impasto bucceroide con teste di leone in rilievo, durante gli scavi della necropoli eseguiti dalla Società Hercle¹. L'olpe fu elencato già dal Colonna nel 1961² come un'opera di mano del pittore della Sfinge Barbuta, ma finora non è mai stato esaminato da vicino.

Un certo numero di opere del pittore della Sfinge Barbuta, così chiamato dal Benson³, e della sua scuola furono distinte già dal Payne⁴ che le riuniva sotto il nome di *dot-rosette vases*. Il pittore viene considerato un innovatore nel campo della ceramica a figure nere sul terreno etrusco⁵. Iniziò la sua attività a Vulci intorno a 630 a.C. lavorando in un'officina propria, circondato da allievi dei quali ritroviamo opere per esempio a Copenhagen⁶, a Orvieto⁷ e a Parigi⁸. Il pittore continuò a sviluppare la sua pittura vascolare approssimativamente fino al secondo decennio del VI secolo a.C. L'ispirazione gli venne dalla ceramica corinzia, soprattutto quella del periodo di transizione. Le chiare influenze corinzie vengono, non raramente, chiamate in causa per attribuire un'origine corinzia a questo pittore⁹. Tratti della ceramica del periodo corinzio non mancano certamente, ma considerando il miscuglio di tecniche utilizzate, quella corinzia a incisione e quella di "outline" ionica che si incontrano qualche volta anche sullo stesso vaso, come su uno del Paul Getty Museum¹⁰; il miscuglio di particolari iconografici influenzati da tutte le sfere culturali che esistevano in Etruria all'epoca: corinzia, ionica e orientale; le rosette a disco corinzie semplificate dal pittore in un modo personale assai abbracciato, l'artista corinzio semrebbe troppo infedele alla sua propria tradizione. Rite-

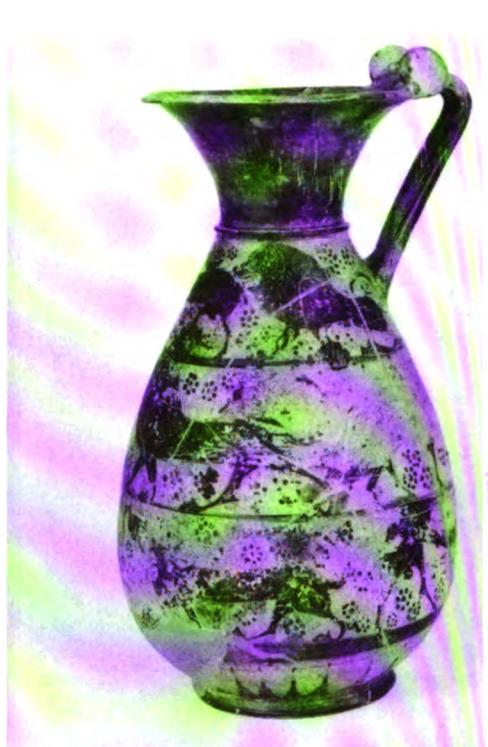
nerlo un pittore etrusco influenzato e, forse, allievo di greci immigrati, non pare molto azzardato¹¹.

L'olpe a rotelle del Medelhavsmuseet (*Figg. 1–5*)¹², è di forma tipicamente corinzia e etrusco-corinzia: il collo conico del bordo leggermente appeso, il corpo ovoidale di profilo abbastanza pesante, la base bassa e l'ansa a triplice bastoncello. L'argilla utilizzata è fine e di un colore giallastro chiaro. Il collo, l'ansa e la base come la decorazione figurativa e l'ornamentazione sono dipinti in un nerastro di tono leggermente marrone. Un nastro decorativo di rosette a punti bianchi circonda il collo e il medesimo tipo di rosetta orna una delle rotelle. La decorazione è composta da tre fregi a figure nere in tecnica di incisione. Un colore viola applicato sul collo degli animali rende il vaso un'opera policroma. Al di sotto di questi fregi si trova un quarto fregio di ornamenti a raggi. I fregi figurativi vengono alternati da una linea orizzontale dipinta, mentre quello a raggi è preceduto da due linee di cui quella superiore è più spessa di tutte le altre. Le figure sono circondate da rosette a punti che non sembrano dimostrare nessun ordine particolare fra di loro. Il vaso è rincollato da più frammenti e le lacune di grandezza varia sono integrate da gesso. La vernice è parzialmente scomparsa, soprattutto nella parte inferiore all'ansa.

Le teorie¹³ vengono composte di tre oppure quattro animali che si muovono in direzioni diverse, a volte affrontati, ma non sistematicamente. Il cinghiale e il leone affrontati del fregio medio potrebbero costituire un'eccezione. La composizione di due degli animali più feroci del mondo, in questo caso in posizione ben visibile al di sotto della bocca, è frequente nella ceramica ionica di teorie altrimenti univoche¹⁴. Il motivo del MM 1965:27 ne potrebbe essere un'imitazione. La teoria superiore inizia e finisce all'attacco dell'ansa, mentre le altre due proseguono senza soluzione di continuità in-



Fig. 1. Olpe MM 1965:27.



torno all'olpe.

La teoria superiore (*Fig. 6*), composta da tre animali, inizia, a sinistra, con una sfinge semiseduta con un'ala unica (*Fig. 7*). Di fronte alla sfinge, uno stambecco a testa abbassata, ma non fino a toccare la linea base. Un corno robusto ne orna la testa. Dietro lo stambecco si trova un leone, anche esso semiseduto, a testa e torace grandi.

Quattro figure riempiono il fregio figurativo medio (*Fig. 8*). Un cinghiale, al di sotto dell'ansa, è volto a destra. Ha la testa abbassata e la schiena che supera leggermente la linea base del fregio superiore. La zampa destra posteriore poggia sulla schiena del cinghiale del fregio inferiore. La vernice della coda senza contorno inciso non è conservata. Di fronte a questo cinghiale, un altro pascente, rivolto a destra. La schiena supera la linea base superiore. L'animale sembra essere fornito di una zanna molto piccola. Il cinghiale affronta un leone molto simile a quello del primo fregio, ma questo è in moto. L'ultimo animale è un uccello acquatico che si muove verso destra. Ha un'ala sola tenuta

Figg. 2-4. Olpe MM 1965:27.

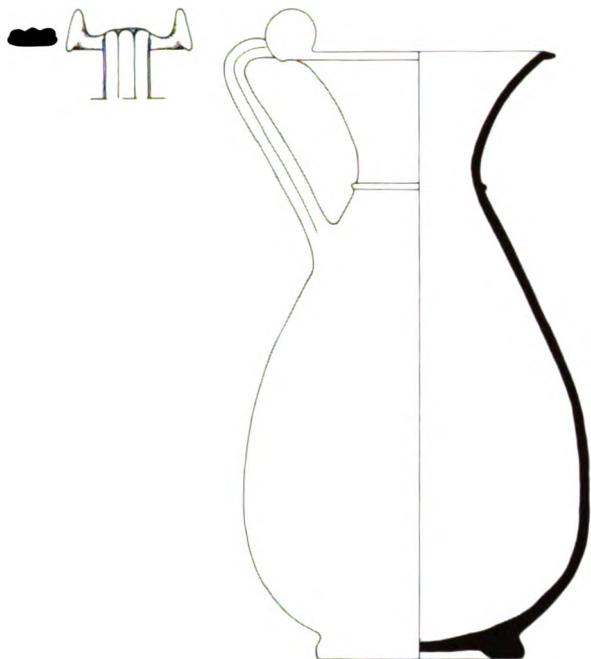


Fig. 5. Olpe MM 1965:27, profilo e particolare dell'ansa.
Disegno M. Elliott.

leggermente alzata. La zampa posteriore è posata sul dorso del cinghiale sottostante.

La teoria inferiore dell'olpe (Fig. 9) comprende anch'essa quattro animali incominciando con un leone che si dirige verso destra a testa più piccola e più appuntita rispetto ai precedenti. Spostandosi sempre verso destra, troviamo un cervo a testa abbassata e ornata di due grandi corna a più rami. Una pantera con la testa disegnata *en face*. L'ultima figura, un cinghiale, si dirige verso destra. La testa è abbassata e la coda manca.

La supposta attribuzione dell'olpe MM 1965:27 al pittore della Sfinge Barbuta non pare molto dubbia. Disponiamo di un buon centinaio d'opere di mano propria o dell'officina del pittore¹⁵ da mettere in paragone con l'olpe di Stoccolma e tra questi sono stati selezionati quattro olpai per verificare l'attribuzione: due a Monaco¹⁶, uno a Roma¹⁷ e uno al Paul Getty Museum¹⁸.

Uno degli olpai a Monaco (Fig. 10)¹⁹ dimostra una grande somiglianza con l'olpe del Medelhavsmuseet, particolarmente il leone del vaso a Monaco, sebbene leggermente più snello, e quello del fregio figurativo medio del MM 1965:27. I felini si muovono nello stesso

modo, hanno il muso ottuso uguale e i particolari della testa incisi in maniera praticamente identica. Anche le sfingi eponime degli olpai sono analoghe: portano tutte e due un *polos*; la pettinatura è uguale; e una linea incisa divide la testa dal collo. Esiste qualche dettaglio escluso dall'analogia come i peli della barba a incisione della sfinge di Monaco, dei quali quella di Stoccolma è priva (Fig. 7). L'ala di quest'ultima sfinge è paragonabile all'ala di una della sfingi su fondo scuro del vaso tedesco poiché si uniscono tutte con le gambe posteriori.

Il secondo olpe a Monaco (Fig. 11)²⁰ è decorato con un leone e con un cervo, somiglianti a quelli dell'olpe MM 1965:27, più che altro per quanto riguarda l'elaborazione delle teste leonine a particolari incisi e quelle molto fini dei cervi con il muso allungato e l'occhio relativamente grande.

La forma di questi olpai, come le rosette a punti, la divisione dei fregi e i raggi sopra la base sono analoghe, anche se il primo menzionato a Monaco si distingue per il fregio superiore inciso su fondo scuro. Il pittore della Sfinge Barbuta si fece ispirare dal bucchero e la tecnica a incisione su fondo scuro ne è un'imitazione.

Un vaso, anche questo attribuito al pittore dal Colonna (Fig. 12)²¹, è decorato con un leone e con uno stambocco quasi identici a quelli del MM 1965:27. Gli stambecchi di ambedue i vasi sono di corpo robusto e coda corta. La loro testa barbuta è molto piccola e ornata di un corno massiccio e incurvato. Il leone assomiglia a quelli suddetti. Identiche anche le rosette a punti, la linea base doppia sopra il fregio a raggi e i raggi stessi.

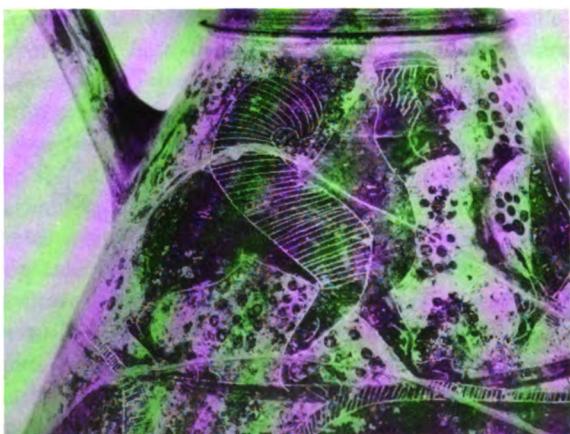
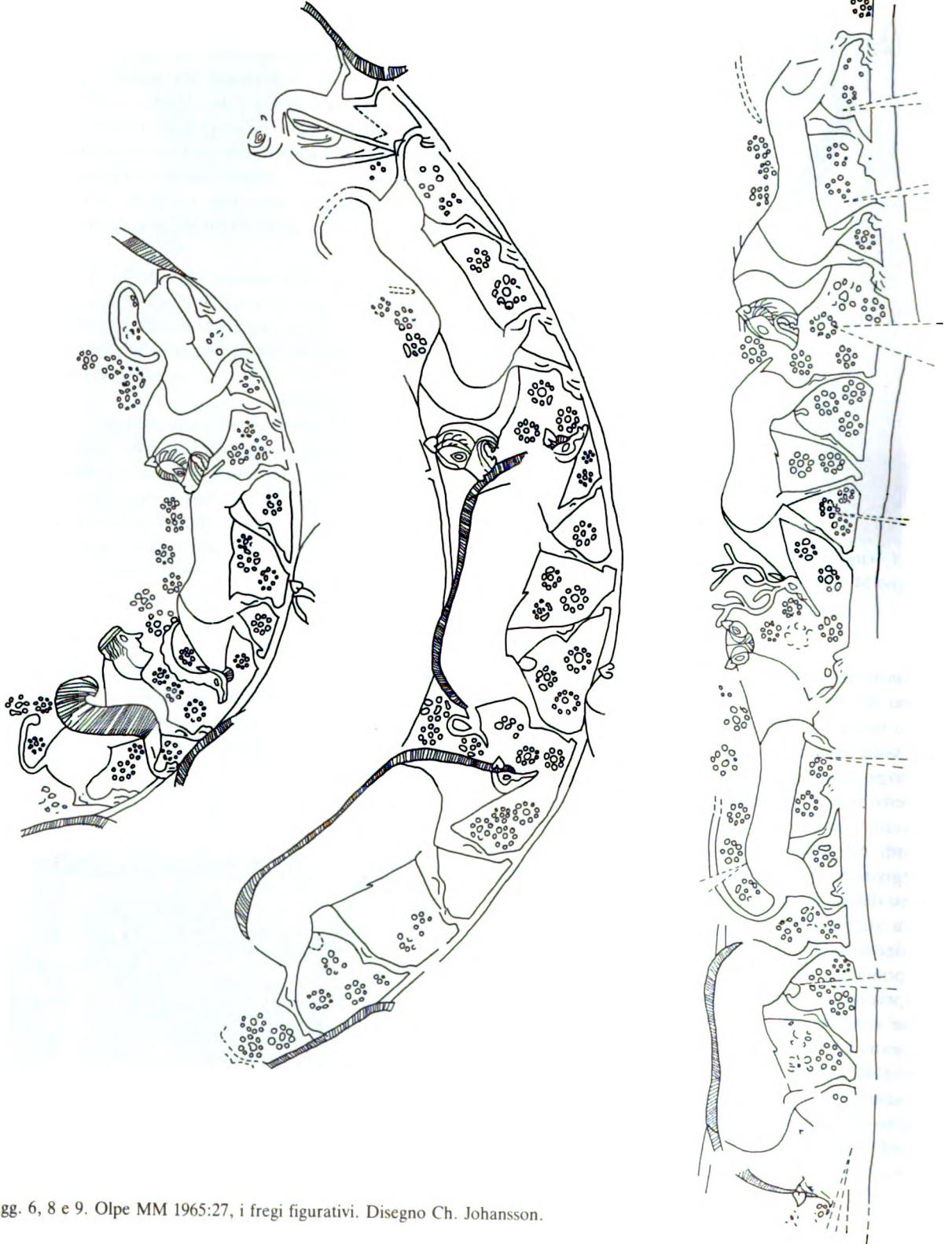
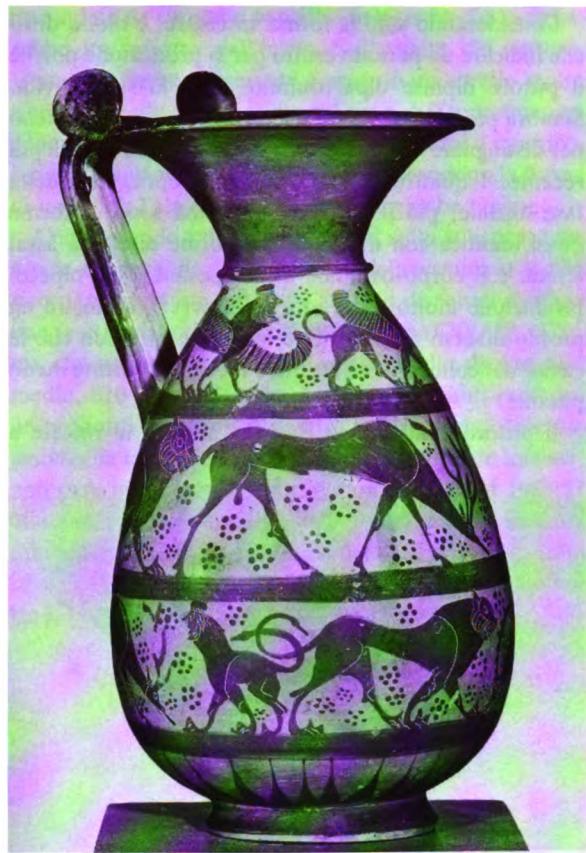


Fig. 7. Olpe MM 1965:27, particolare.



Figg. 6, 8 e 9. Olpe MM 1965:27, i fregi figurativi. Disegno Ch. Johansson.



Figg. 10–11. Olpai 242 e 243 del Museum antiker Kleinkunst di Monaco. Sieveking & Hackl 1912 (sinistra). Per cortese concessione del Museum antiker Kleinkunst (destra).

Sia l'ultimo olpe citato che quelli a Monaco e a Stoccolma provengono da Vulci. Di provenienza sconosciuta invece è il quarto olpe, che ora appartiene alla collezione del Paul Getty Museum (*Fig. 13*)²².

Paragonando gli stambecchi del olpe del Paul Getty Museum con gli stambecchi menzionati più sopra troviamo che sono elaborati nel medesimo modo. Un'altra figura di elaborazione rassomigliante è la pantera. L'analogia si dimostra soprattutto nella forma a mandorla degli occhi e nelle linee diagonali del muso. Le diversità, basandosi sui tratti più dettagliati della pantera di Stoccolma, dipendono piuttosto dalle tecniche diverse che da una differenza stilistica. La decorazione figurativa dell'olpe al Paul Getty Museum è parzialmente elaborata nella tecnica ionica, l'outline, che vediamo per esempio nella testa felina.

La carriera artistica relativamente lunga (c. 630–580 a.C.) e la produzione abbondante del pittore della Sfinge Barbuta²³ offrono un'ottima possibilità di stu-

diare sia l'evoluzione stilistica che quella delle forme vascolari. Lo svolgimento artistico, del quale si possono distinguere tre fasi successive, deriva dall'evoluzione della tradizione ceramica di Corinto, ma è anche di carattere personale, manifestandosi più che altro nell'elaborazione figurativa. In una fase iniziale il pittore dipinse vasi di due tipi: l'olpe, la sua forma preferita e della quale esistono una settantina d'opere recuperate, e l'oinochoe. La fase seguente, dal 610 a.C. fino alla fine del secolo circa, in cui il repertorio vascolare arriva ad includere anche anfore e alabastra, viene talvolta vista come sperimentale, durante la quale il pittore non si contentò forse solo di decorare, ma si mise anche a lavorare come ceramista. Nella terza e ultima fase, verso la fine della sua attività, l'innovatore della ceramica a figure nere in Etruria diventò un innovatore anche per la tradizione degli anforoni squamati allora stabilita da decenni a Caere, apportandogli lo stile allungato²⁴.

Considerando solo la forma vascolare, è molto difficile indicare un periodo esatto per la produzione poichè il pittore dipinse olpai durante tutta la sua attività. Sembra però che ci sia un'evoluzione di forma, almeno per distinguere un olpe di data antica da uno di data più recente. I quattro olpai menzionati sopra, tutti della fase iniziale, più il vaso di Stoccolma sono di forma quasi identica con il collo imbutiforme di cavità assai stretta e il corpo ovoidale un po' pesante. Un olpe di produzione molto tarda, ora al Louvre²⁵, dimostra un profilo diverso a linee meno incurvate in modo che la cavità del collo è meno stretta e il corpo di forma meno pesante.

Il pittore della Sfinge Barbuta applicò le rosette a

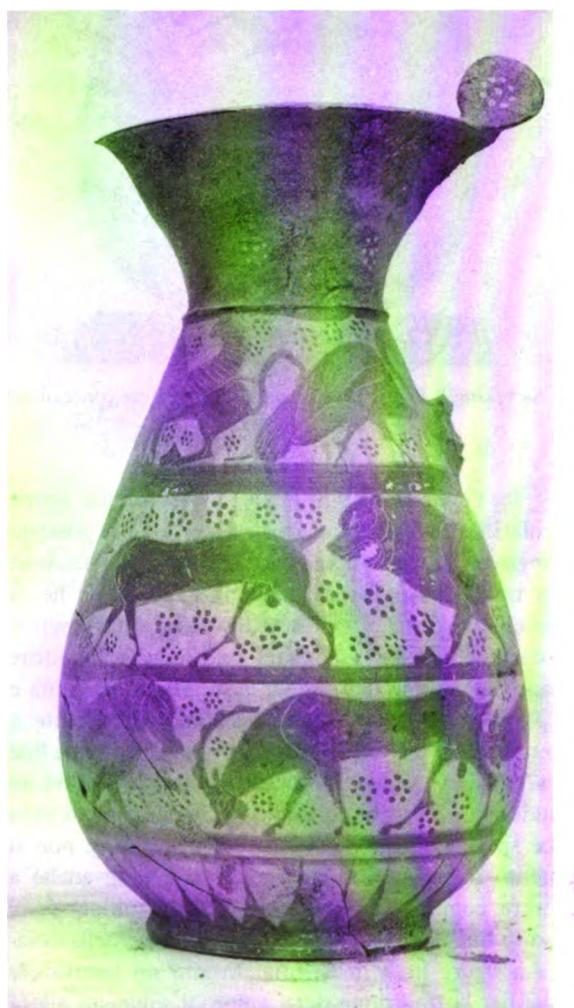


Fig. 12. Olpe a Roma. Foto G. Colonna. Per cortese concessione del Prof. G. Colonna.

punti, come sull'olpe di Stoccolma, durante la fase più antica della sua attività. A cavallo fra questa e la fase media cominciò ad aggiungere anche le rosette a disco, una riproduzione personale delle rosette corinzie che si evolsero durante la transizione, e man mano la rosetta di tipo antico scomparve²⁶. Un'anfora in "outline" di Villa Giulia²⁷ è decorata di rosette miste, mentre un'altra, sempre di Villa Giulia²⁸, del medesimo periodo, 610-600 a.C., elaborata nella tecnica ionica, ha un'ornamentazione unicamente di rosette a disco.

Le teorie di animali disegnate sull'olpe del Medelhavsmuseet contengono tre leoni, uno dei motivi preferiti del pittore, che sono di due tipi diversi: quelli dei fregi superiore e medio che hanno la testa grande quasi squadrata e il muso ottuso, mentre il leone più in basso ha la testa di forma appuntita e piuttosto triangolare. Tutti e tre tengono però le fauci aperte, gli occhi sono a forma di mandorla e i peli della criniera sulla testa sono incisi. Uno sviluppo graduale dell'elaborazione proprio della testa leonina nelle opere del pittore della Sfinge Barbuta è stato notato dallo Szilágyi²⁹, secondo cui egli disegnò, nella fase antica, una testa a punta con i particolari della criniera e quelli intorno alle fauci incisi in modo assai rigoroso. In una fase più tarda la testa leonina prese una forma più squadrata e a incisioni meno dettagliate. La composizione di un leone con un capo di carattere chiaramente antico e due che tendono al genere più recente potrebbe indicare che abbiamo a che fare con un'opera della fase iniziale oppure della transizione fra quella e la fase seguente.

Già il Benson³⁰, ma anche lo Szilágyi³¹, hanno osservato che il disegno della struttura corporale sembra passare da figure più graziose e più muscolose, di torace grande e vita sottile, a figure più pesanti, più informi e allungate senza vita marcata. Il leone, come le altre specie a quattro zampe dell'olpe MM 1965:27, è di struttura marcata da linee graffite come anche animali su vasi di data antica, per esempio gli olpai di Monaco³². Uno dei due è decorato da figure con la pancia che snellisce parecchio verso le zampe posteriori, mentre gli animali dell'altro, come quelli del vaso di Stoccolma, hanno il torace e la pancia quasi della stessa grandezza in modo che la vita si accentua solo leggermente. Questo richiama la statura corporale del periodo medio.

Anche un'evoluzione stilistica per la testa della pantera è stata dimostrata dallo Szilágyi³³, ma in questo caso con tre passaggi successivi. La pantera del MM 1965:27 a capo diviso in due lati praticamente simmetrici da una linea verticale con gli occhi a forma da mandorla e il muso a linee diagonali dritte assomiglia alla

testa della fase media, mentre la forma relativamente rettangolare porta tratti sia della fase antica che di quella successiva.

Frequente nelle opere del pittore della Sfinge Barbata è la sfinge eponima, di cui esiste un esempio sull'olpe del Medelhavsmuseet. Questa sfinge ricorda, come già detto, quelle di altre opere del periodo iniziale. Esaminando i vasi dipinti dal pittore sembra che l'elaborazione di questa figura sia poco cambiata da una fase all'altra. La forma corporale sembra, conseguentemente, offrire l'unica indicazione sull'età dell'opera.

Un animale molto svariato nel repertorio del pittore è l'uccello, a volte di tipo ionico in outline, a volte elaborato a incisione. Da Poggio Buco proviene un vaso frammentario, ora a Grosseto, senza datazione, ma decorato da figure, poche in verità, di tipo antico

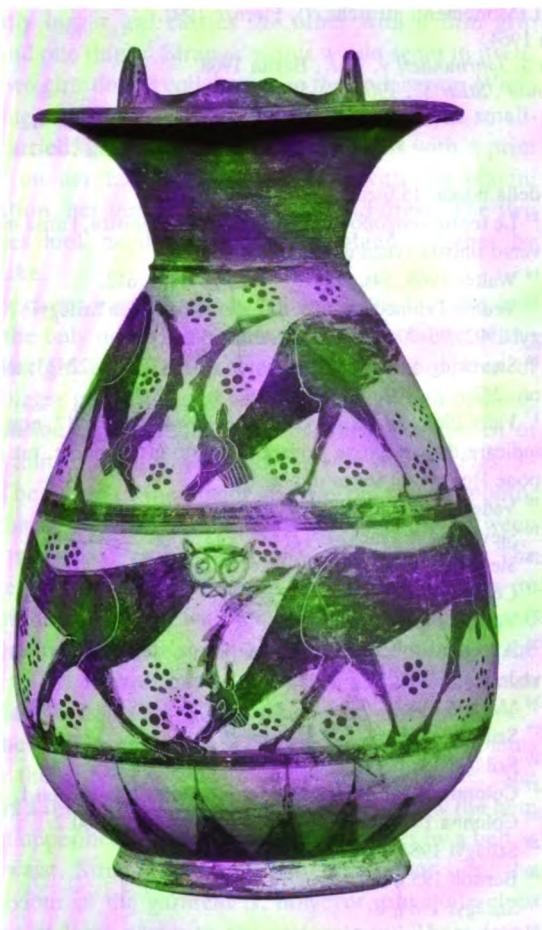


Fig. 13. Olpe 197 (86 AE 393) del Paul Getty Museum di Malibu. Per cortese concessione del Paul Getty Museum.

circondate da rosette a punti³⁴. Un insieme che indicherebbe un oggetto dell'inizio dell'attività del pittore. Una delle figure conservate è proprio un uccello molto simile a quello che si trova sul vaso di Stoccolma, un genere non molto spesso ripetuto: i contorni e i particolari graffiti; la testa, il collo e il petto prendono la forma di una "S"; l'ala è poco alzata; e le gambe lunghe.

Considerando i dettagli osservati sulla stilistica delle figure che ornano l'olpe del Medelhavsmuseet e che ricordano, su vasta scala, gli animali disegnati durante una fase iniziale dell'attività del pittore (630–610 a.C.), ma che portano tratti caratteristici anche di una fase media, 610–600 a.C. circa, le rosette a punti indicano un prodotto assai antico, inoltre la forma vascolare che assomiglia tanto a quella di altri olpai della fase iniziale, non pare molto avventurato datare l'olpe MM 1965:27 alla fine del primo periodo dell'attività del pittore della Sfinge Barbata, cioè intorno al 615–610 a.C. circa (e in ogni caso non dopo la fine del secolo), a cavallo quindi fra il periodo transizionale e il corinzio antico.

Addendum

Questo testo fu elaborato prima della pubblicazione dell'ultimo libro del Prof. J. G. Szilágyi, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurata I* (Monumenti etruschi, 7), Firenze 1992 e prima che questo libro fosse disponibile all'autrice a Stoccolma. L'olpe del Medelhavsmuseet si trova sotto il numero 49 dell'elenco ivi pubblicato dei vasi del pittore (pp. 96–104). Viene collocata in un ambiente cronologico così circoscritto dall'autore (p. 115): ... "le convenzioni grafiche sono quelle tipiche del primo periodo e come riempitivi appaiono esclusivamente rosette a punti, ma i punti grossolani e il fatto che il disegno degli animali un po' corposi sorpassi spesso la linea che delimita il fregio indicano il tramonto del periodo di fioritura", collocazione con cui la nostra datazione si trova conforme.

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Per le abbreviazioni vide supra, Abbreviazioni bibliografiche.

¹ Il numero inventariale della Società Hercole era 671/T72. L'informazione sull'origine dell'olpe è gentilmente stata comunicata dalla dott. E. Rystedt, Medelhavsmuseet.

² Colonna 1961, 11, nota n. 26; Zevi 1969, 39–58. La stessa attribuzione viene menzionata in una breve presentazione in svedese in: *Medelhavsmuseet – en introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, 204 (E. Rystedt); *eadem*, *Grekisk keramik* (Medelhavsmuseet Skrifter, 5), Stockholm 1985, 30, fig. 28, centro.

³ Benson 1953, 30.

⁴ Payne 1931, 206, nn. 1–9.

⁵ A proposito dell'attività del pittore della Sfinge Barbata si vedano i seguenti lavori: Colonna 1961; Zevi 1969; Szilágyi 1975, 31–65; Szilágyi 1977, 49–63; Szilágyi 1984, 3–22; Martelli 1987, 23–29, spec. 25s.

⁶ CVA Copenhague, *Musée National* 2, 75s., pl. 96:1a–b, 2; (= Danemark 2, pl. 96).

⁷ Zevi 1969, 58.

⁸ CVA Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* 1, 9, pl. 11:9–12 e 12 (= France 7, pl. 295 e 296); Zevi 1969, 48, tav. 24; Martelli 1987, n. 62.

⁹ Colonna 1961, 11s.; Cristofani 1978, 58s.; Sprenger & Bartoloni 1977, 91.

¹⁰ Amyx 1965, 1–14, n. 1, tav. 4a–b; Szilágyi 1986, 1–16, spec. 2–7.

¹¹ La stessa ipotesi è stata avanzata da Brown 1960, 54; Cook 1989, 161–173, spec. 165; Payne 1931, 207; Szilágyi 1984, 13s.

¹² Altezza: 33.5 cm; diametro della base: 11.5 cm; diametro

della bocca: 15.0 cm.

¹³ Le teorie vengono descritte da destra a sinistra, l'ansa messa verso sinistra (vista dall'osservatore).

¹⁴ Walter 1968, 54s., tavv. 66–68; 124, no. 612.

¹⁵ Vedere l'elenco pubblicato recentemente da Szilágyi: Szilágyi 1992, 96–104 (cf. supra, Addendum).

¹⁶ Sieveking & Hackl 1912, tav. 8, no. 242, figg. 22–23; tav. 8, no. 243.

¹⁷ Vulci 1964, fig. 22, tav. 25b. Zevi 1969, 56, no. 17, non può indicare dove si possa trovare l'oggetto attualmente, ma propone Roma non senza dubbi.

¹⁸ Vedere supra n. 10.

¹⁹ Sieveking & Hackl 1912, tav. 242, figg. 22–23.

²⁰ Sieveking & Hackl 1912, tav. 8, no. 243.

²¹ Colonna 1961, n. 2.

²² Vedere supra n. 10.

²³ A proposito dell'attività del pittore della Sfinge Barbata vedere supra n. 5.

²⁴ Martelli 1987, 25s.; Szilágyi 1984, 5–13; Szilágyi 1977, 52.

²⁵ Szilágyi 1975, pl. 17; Szilágyi 1977, 54, tav. 17a.

²⁶ Szilágyi 1984, 11s.

²⁷ Colonna 1970, 34, n. 20; Martelli 1987, 277, no. 60.1.

²⁸ Colonna 1970, n. 21; Martelli 1987, 277, no. 60.2.

²⁹ Szilágyi 1984, 8, tav. 3b.

³⁰ Benson 1953, 30.

³¹ Szilágyi 1984, 8.

³² Vedere supra n. 16.

³³ Szilágyi 1984, 5, tav. 3c.

³⁴ Colonna 1961, n. 30; Zevi 1969, 56, n. 21, tav. 17e.

Girls Playing? Notes on a Fake *Ephedrismos* Group in the Zorn Collections in Mora (Sweden)

Charlotte Scheffer

Asked to write, in Swedish, about an object in the Zorn collections for a temporary exhibition at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, I chose an intriguing terracotta group of two young girls (*Figs. 1–2*), where the slightly bigger girl carries the other with a firm grip around one thigh.¹ Strange as this would seem in itself, the two girls do not collaborate in the endeavour. While the bigger one seems intent on her business, the smaller, carried, girl leans outwards-backwards with a prim look on her face quite at variance with the playful situation, her tender age and disturbed dress. The two figures look as if they had been glued together by mistake.

On closer inspection it became obvious that this was not the only oddity about the group. The fabric of the smaller girl is darkish brown and rather hard, that of the bigger girl softer and yellowish red. When opened, the inside of the smaller girl was shown to consist of very thin layers of clay alternating with shellac (*Figs. 3–4*). The inside of the bigger girl was plain and smooth. Furthermore there was a sharp dividing line between the two parts, visible even in the photographs. The bigger girl's right arm and the contour of her dress on her right side belong with the smaller girl. When tested by thermoluminescence, the yellowish red fabric of the bigger girl turned out to be genuine. The brownish fabric of the smaller girl, however, was not authentic.²

The test result finally solves some of the problems with the girls. The bigger girl is roughly made. She wears a thin undergarment, which shows below the hem of an upper heavier garment drawn together by a belt at her waist. Strong folds are created at either side; the behaviour of the garment is, however, not quite clear owing at least partly to the restorations. There is no telling whether the head is genuine. It does not seem to go very well with the body and the colour is darker.

Disregarding the head, the bigger girl seems a rough creation of the late 4th or early 3rd century, most likely provincial, possibly Boeotian.³ Her stance is vague. She is not quite taking a step forward; it is more as if the body is moving within itself. It is impossible to know how she once held her arms. The left one is broken off well above the elbow, a fact which someone has tried to obscure by pretending the continuation of the arm behind her back. Most likely she held her left arm bent slightly forward at the elbow. The right arm is completely lost in the “restorations” on her right side. The same goes for her back, as testified by the ample scars.

The smaller girl is of more delicate manufacture with fine details. She wears the same two garments, but the undergarment does not show naturally below the hem of the upper garment – an incised line is necessary to show its presence. Both garments, in an uncertain fashion, leave her left breast bare. On her left shoulder is a button to keep the upper garment together, but there is no corresponding button on the other shoulder, although there should have been one, as the garment, a peplos, is open at that side as shown by the wavy line. The head is very pretty and Tanagrean in style. It is either an authentic head placed on the fake body or a close imitation of one. Because of the brownish fabric the latter seems more likely.

As can now be seen, the group is not at all two young girls playing at the game often called *ephedrismos*.⁴ The bigger, authentic girl is shown in a sort of frontal contrapost, which has not succeeded very well. She is not taking a step forward with her left leg as she should in a proper *ephedrismos* stance, nor is she turning her body to her left side in order to take the burden better. There is nothing to indicate that she would once have turned her left, or, for that matter, her right arm backward.

The strange position of the smaller girl is also ex-



Figs. 1-2. ZAG 342. Zorn Collections, Mora.



Figs. 3–4. ZAG 342, back side. Fig. 4 (above): Detail of the restorations on the inside of the figurine with part of the back removed.

the all-female *ephedrismos* group. It is possible that the distribution of the motif over time and space will tell something both of its popularity and of the enormous gaps in the material left to us. By publishing this fake *ephedrismos* group, I hope to entice more groups “to come out into the open” so that, in the end, we shall know a lot more about this elusive motif.

So far, 31 groups of playing girls or young women, including two marble sculptures, have yielded enough information to warrant a place in the catalogue.⁵ About half the number of these were already known to Winter.⁶ Fifteen are probably not to be found in his list (Nos. 2–4, 7, 11, 16–20, 23–25, 27 and 30), but certainty is not possible as many of Winter’s entries are vague and the whereabouts of others not known. Winter mentions in all 23 different groups (his type 1p is excluded for having a winged rider and his type 2 for not being a proper *ephedrismos*), which means that neither has the number of known groups augmented as much as one might have expected nor have those only mentioned by Winter been shown any more interest. Maybe this phenomenon can be partly explained by the often clandestine excavation of this type of material or the subsequently detected modern manufacture of some pieces.

plained. She is possibly modelled on another figure, a standing one, which has been rather awkwardly adjusted to the other, authentic, figure by adding the loaf-like right arm of the bigger girl. This arm just disappears behind the smaller girl’s knee without disturbing her dress. In fact, as can now be seen, the two figures look as if they have been glued together, because that is just what they have been, not by any accident, however. It is difficult to see any special *ephedrismos* group as model. The “originality” of the group was one of the indications of its non-authenticity.

This note could well have ended here, but it has seemed useful nevertheless to make a short survey of

Many have probably ended up in private collections like the Zorn collection and have not been considered worthy of publication.⁷

Winter's typology is still viable and the new groups can easily be accommodated within it. I have chosen, however, to make a new typology in an attempt to arrange the material in a more comprehensive way. The types have been arranged firstly after the way the rider holds her hands, secondly after the leg which the runner brings forward (*Fig. 5*).

The position of the hands are:

- I) Both hands on the runner's shoulders
- II) One hand on a shoulder, the other folded along the back of the runner
- III) One hand on one of the runner's shoulders, the other free
- IV) Both hands free
- V) Both hands over the eyes of the runner
- VI) Possibly both hands on the runner's shoulders but sitting sideways

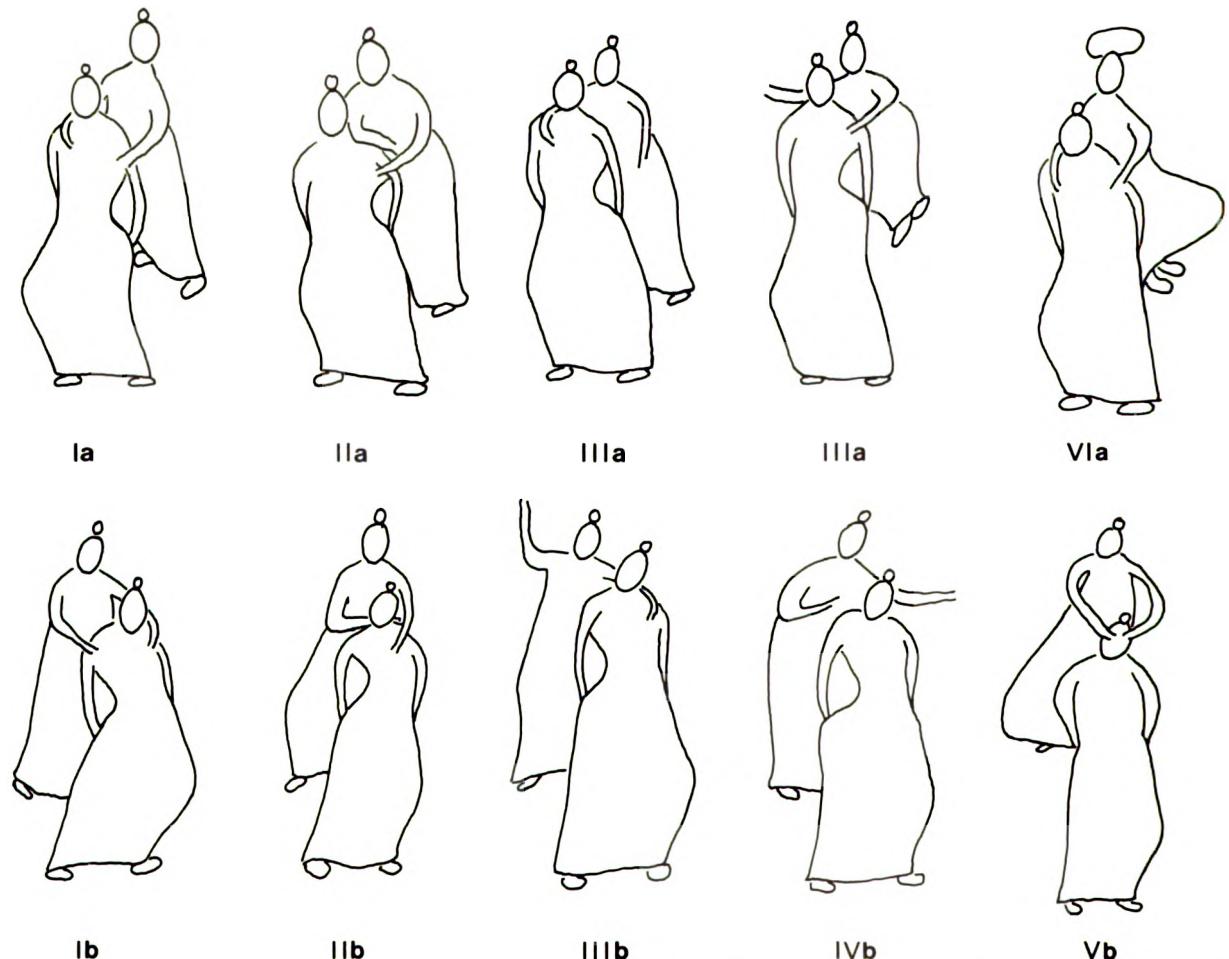


Fig. 5. Rough outline drawing of, above, types Ia, IIa, IIIa (two variants: the rider's right or left hand, respectively, on the right or left shoulder, respectively, of the runner), and VIa. Below, types Ib, IIb, IIIb, IVb and Vb. Types IVa, Va and VIb are so far not represented in the material.

The position of the runner's forward leg is:

- a) The runner's right leg brought forward, i.e. the movement is to the left from the onlooker's point of view
- b) The runner's left leg is brought forward; the movement is to the right from the onlooker's point of view

Ia and Ib are more or less mirror images of each other. In Ia the rider is sitting to the onlooker's right, in Ib to the left (Nos. 1–3 and 4–6, respectively). In type IIa the rider's left hand is held on the runner's left shoulder, creating a diagonal with the runner's right leg (Nos. 7–22). Two of the girls have slightly raised their right hand which holds a ball (Nos. 9 and 11). Another, rather strangely, carries a fan in her right hand (No. 20). In IIb, rather curiously, the hands are held in exactly the same way, left hand on left shoulder, right arm along the runner's back; the only difference is that the direction is to the right. Only one figurine, probably in the Louvre (No. 23), belongs to this type.

Type IIIa is composed of two marble sculptures, unfortunately not completely preserved. In the sculpture in the Capitoline Museums (No. 24) the rider holds her left hand on the runner's left shoulder analogous with type IIa. The group from the Athenian Agora (No. 25), however, is unusual: the rider has her right hand on the runner's right shoulder, i.e. on the forward-moving side of the group. This creates a more compact, closer-knit composition. Type IIIb is represented by a figurine in the Louvre (No. 26) where the rider raises her right arm almost straight up.

Type IVb (there is no example of type IVa) comprises the most ambitious of all the terracotta figurines. The Allard Pierson group (No. 27) is unusually tall both in actual height (43 cm) and in its proportions. The two participants look like very sophisticated young ladies indeed. There have been various suggestions about its origin: Attica, Boeotia, Corinth, but the last is most likely the right one. The proportions of the next group (No. 28) in the Hermitage are more femininely rounded and also displays a more realistic view of the burden actually taken by the runner. The rider is leaning over the other's shoulders, putting her weight on her elbows and thus leaving the hands free; in the left hand she holds a ball. The Berlin figurine (No. 29) is rather fragmentary; the rider's arms are not completely preserved and she might actually have rested her left hand on the runner's left shoulder, i.e. type IIIB. Not having seen the figurine at first hand, I have had to rely on a

photograph in which no traces of a hand is visible on the carrier's shoulder.

Type Vb (there is no type Va) is, on the other hand, represented by the absolutely roughest of the figurines (No. 30). It is said to come from Boeotia. The rider is placed almost at an angle to the runner and, as it were, suspended in the air above her. From the illustrations, it is not possible to identify the exact manner of carrying, but apparently the rider actually stands with her left foot in the joined hands of the runner. Type VIa has been described above. It is represented only by two figurines from the same mould (No. 31).

The most common direction is towards the onlooker's left, with the runner's right leg brought forward and the rider on her left side. Usually the rider supports herself with her left hand on the runner's left shoulder. When the runner is moving in the opposite direction, towards the onlooker's right, some riders support themselves with the left, some with the right hand. These groups are generally more varied and mostly also more elaborate.⁸

It is quite obvious from the data collected in *Table 1* that there is no consistency between the figurines, not even within a single type. Heights vary between 10.5 and 43 (excluding the marble sculptures, which are of course of a larger size). Even within type IIa with its 13 specimens heights vary between 12 and 26. It is a fact that no two heights are the same. Suggested origins are no more consistent, i.e. Attica, Corinth, Megara, Boeotia, North Africa, South Italy, Asia Minor and the east are so far excluded. As no contexts are securely known, it is, of course, far from certain, what is meant when a piece is said to be Boeotian or Corinthian. Was the piece actually found there or has it been attributed to the place on stylistical grounds? Dates vary as well. Most of the terracottas can, however, be accommodated between the late 4th and the middle of the 2nd centuries or slightly later.⁹

The motif of the groups is difficult to establish due to the lack of attributes. The most common interpretation is that of the play called variously *ephedrismos* or *enkotyle*, in which the loser at a ball game had to carry the winner on the back a certain distance, usually blinded by the hands of the rider.¹⁰ The best illustrations of the *ephedrismos* game are found on red-figured Athenian oinochoai of the 420s.¹¹ As already pointed out long ago the young male participants in the game seem to ride differently, with one leg on either side of the runner, while the young girls of our terracotta groups always ride with one knee in the carrier's hands (prop-

Table 1. Information about the *ephedrismos* groups taken from the publications.

No.	Type	Museum	Provenience	Height	Date
1	Ia	Naples 7113	Capua	25	
2	Ia	Metr. Mus. 07.286.4		c. 13.7	c. 300
3	Ia	once Würzburg	Eretria, Boeotian		
4	Ib	Louvre D 3557–58	Capua	11.7; 12.2	3rd cent.
5	Ib	Berlin 3570	South Italy	15	
6	Ib	Ny Carlsberg Glyptoth. 904		22	auth.doubt.
7	IIa	Munich SL 127	Boeotia	26	
8	IIa	Berlin 6840	Boeotia	17.3	early Hell.
9	IIa	Louvre D 159	Tanagra	22.5	300–250
10	IIa	Vienna, Kunsth. Mus. V 2832		13.4	
11	IIa	Allard Pierson Museum 393	Boeotia	21.6	4th-3rd cent.
12	IIa	once Lecuyer coll.	Tanagra?	16	
13	IIa	once Castellani coll.	Tanagra?	17	
14	IIa	Louvre D 301	Corinth	34	150–100
15	IIa	Athens 1731		12	
16	IIa	Boston 03.894	Corinth	24.8	late 4th–early 3rd cent.
17	IIa	Heidelberg TK 133		13.2	
18	IIa	Viterbo	found in Lucus Feronia	21	3rd cent.
19	IIa	Basle 1921.485		17	late 4th cent.
20	IIa	Market		20.7	early 3rd cent.
21	IIa	once Lecuyer	Tanagra	12.5	
22	IIa	Brit. Mus. C 93	Benghazi	12.8	300–250
23	IIb	Louvre?			c. 150
24	IIIa	Capitoline	found in Rome	120 pres.	150–100
25	IIIa	Athenian Agora S 429	found in the Agora	65 pres.	c. 420
26	IIIb	Louvre D 3554	Tarent	25.5	200–150
27	IVb	Allard Pierson Museum 313	Corinth	43	300–250
28	IVb	Hermitage G 577	Corinth	26	late 3rd cent.
29	IVb	Berlin 6917	Megara	34	Hell.
30	Vb	Munich SL 129	Boeotia	10.5	early Hell.
31	VIa	Louvre D 3555–56	Capua	11.7	3rd cent.

erly *en kotyle*).¹² In discussing the group from the Athenian Agora (No. 25), Homer Thompson did not accept the interpretation of the girls as taking part in an *ephedrismos* game.¹³ His main reasons are that in some groups (our Nos. 9, 11 and 28) the ball is still being held, that there is no blindfolding and also that the vase paintings always show boys, while the terracotta groups always show girls or young women. Another suggestion is that the girls are playing a game called *ostrakinda*,¹⁴ also a ball game but played in teams. The outcome is, however, the same: the winner is taken by the loser for a ride. Another scholar has suggested that the girls are not actually carrying one another but playing a game

more like leap-frog, i.e. the girls are caught in the movement when one of them is jumping up and only taking very temporary help of the other by using her joined hands.¹⁵ This is a most unlikely explanation; there is nothing temporary in the carrying and no tendency to jumping at all.

Other explanations, on the other hand, are even less likely. L. Heuzey identified a terracotta group from Corinth (No. 14) as a small-scale copy of the *Katagousa* by Praxiteles mentioned by the elder Pliny (NH 34.71),¹⁶ i.e. Demeter bringing her daughter Persephone up from Hades (or back down to Hades). The exact reading of the text is difficult and, beyond that, as

pointed out by Rayet,¹⁷ the tender age of both participants (in No. 21 and, for that matter in Nos. 2–3 and probably No. 22 as well) seems to preclude such an identification. Another French scholar of the last century interpreted the wreath in the hair of the rider of another group in the Louvre (No. 14) as pointing to a possible identification of Demeter *carried by her daughter*.¹⁸

There is not much in our figures to warrant any of these explanations. One of the girls holds a ball only in three cases (Nos. 9, 11 and 28). The participants are sometimes, but not often, very young girls (only Nos. 2–3 and 21–22); mostly they are mature young women, at times even very staid young ladies (e.g. No. 7) and it is quite possible that the ball has been added as an attempt to explain the figures. Several of them have their dress falling off one shoulder, occasionally baring one or both breasts (Nos. 23–25 and 28–29). This trait is present in a modest form already in the oldest specimen, the marble sculpture from the Athenian Agora (No. 25), and cannot thus be considered a later addition. It is, however, uncertain, whether this trait is meant to underline the exertion and movement of the young women (both rider and runner appear with their dress disturbed) or to refer to their easy-going moral (this is usually a typical trait of Aphrodite) or the extraordinary character of the occasion (outside everyday experience).

For the marble group from the Athenian Agora, which has been attributed to the Hephaisteion, several suggestions have been brought forward: again Demeter and Kore, Hesperides, clouds, women fleeing from Troy, none of which explanation seems particularly satisfying.¹⁹ The only non-plastic representation of an all-female *ephedrismos* group is an Athenian vase painting from the third quarter of the 4th century showing two young women at *ephedrismos* accompanied by a satyr, an eros and a third woman.²⁰ A round object on the ground has been interpreted as a ball, but it may be a filling ornament. The atmosphere is Dionysiac-Erotic.

The terracottas started to be made about a hundred years after the Hephaisteion marble sculpture. It is possible that the motif was taken up only as a chance to depict two young women in a playful situation that could be used to display their bodies to best advantage. Although in a general way copied or rather inspired by the Athenian group, the real significance may have been lost. The motif may have become one of the genre motif seemingly so beloved during the Hellenistic age. Because the motif of young women playing was consid-

ered charming, a ball might even be placed in the hand of one of them to indicate the non-serious activity.

There is, however, a possibility that the groups once had a more serious meaning.²¹ My suggestion for the Agora group is that these two young women are taking part in a Dionysiac procession and, under the influence of the god, doing a thing which Greek women would not do in their ordinary life.²² This hypothesis is based, among other things, on all types of *ephedrismos* groups with all kinds of participants (often satyrs and erotes). For the all-female group, there is some supplementary evidence pointing in a similar direction from the two fragments of *ephedrismos* terracottas found in the excavations of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Corinth.²³ No. 18 was found in a similar sanctuary, to the health goddess Feronia, and another, now in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome, was found in a votive deposit in the sanctuary of another similar goddess, Mater Matuta in Satricum,²⁴ but one should probably beware of identifying Greek customs at Etruscan/Latin places, even though they may look somewhat alike.

It is well known, that contests or trials of strength took place in honour and as a sort of gift to a god or rather a goddess, because the evidence points to the recipients of such female efforts as being primarily goddesses concerned with young females and fertility such as Hera, Artemis and, one would like to add, Demeter.²⁵ Young women's participation in games is of course far less known than that of young men, but we know of a running contest to Hera at Olympia, a similar one, the Dionysiades race, at Sparta, and the races at Brauron.²⁶ The *arrephoroi* at the Acropolis in Athens indulged in an occasional game of ball, while at the service of their goddess.²⁷

The very carrying around of another young woman must have marked out the behaviour as out of the ordinary and made in service of a god, who may be Dionysos under the influence of drink, or a goddess of fertility, for whom the strength and healthiness of the young women displayed in the carrying or ball playing would be evidence of their physical suitability for the productive role they were soon to fulfill. The playful carrying would fit very well into a picture of such pre-nuptial trials, which often seem to involve the inversion of the proper behaviour of a wife.²⁸ If the young girls are indeed preparing themselves for love and subsequent child bearing, a logical consequence would be to provide them not with a girl rider but with the god of love himself, as in fact also happens in figurines showing young women carrying the seemingly overwhelming

load of Eros.²⁹

The connection between Dionysos and the goddesses protective of fertility and young women may also be explained. Especially Dionysos and Demeter seem to be opposite but closely related poles in the lives of women; Demeter protects the established order of things, especially childbearing and thus indirectly also adulthood and marriage, while Dionysos stands for the reverse, disorder, passion, loss of control, which by their very existence give relief to the usually staid life of women.³⁰ This interpretation is, however, merely a suggestion, which cannot be either verified or disproved until the exact find circumstances of many more groups are known. Till then all must remain conjecture.

In short, the reviewing of the various figurines has shown that there is a wide spectrum of provenances, dates, heights, dressing, hairdos etc. The motif must have been very popular. Terracotta figurines were mass-produced artefacts and the very variety proves what a great number of figurines must be lost. By publishing the admittedly faked group in the Zorn col-

lection, I have hopes that many more figurines of this type will be published in order to make this category better known with time. Terracotta figurines are usually published by collection or by centre of manufacture, very rarely by motif. I believe time has now come to view figurines in general from this new angle in order to get a better impression of their significance to those who actually bought and used them.

This little group was once tenderly reassembled by a 19th-century "restorer", knowledgeable about the taste of the Victorian world around him. The group was then bought by a Swedish painter with a faiblesse for the female form and brought to Sweden, where I hope it may now help, more than a hundred years later, to improve the knowledge of the motif of which it falsely professed to be an exponent.

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Catalogue

To the left and to the right mean that the runner is moving in that direction from the onlooker's point of view bringing forward her right and left leg, respectively.

Type Ia. Both the rider's hands on the runner. To the left

1. Naples, Museo Nazionale 7113, TC, Capua, H. 25 cm.

Bibl.: Winter, 136, type 5a.

2. New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.4, TC, H. c. 13.7 cm, c. 300.

Bibl.: G.M.A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Greek collection*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1953, 112, pl. 92i; M. Bieber, *The sculpture of the Hellenistic age*, New York 1951, 138, fig. 552; H. Rühsel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst. Von der minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, 18), Mainz am Rhein 1984, 210–212, fig. 86.

3. Once Würzburg (destroyed in World War II), TC, Boeotian from Eretria.

Bibl.: H. Bulle, 'Das Kunstsammlung der Universität Würzburg', *MüJb* 5, 1910, 153, fig. 3; H. Möbius, 'Eigenartige attische Grabreliefs', *AM* 81, 1966, 149, pl. 83:4.

Type Ib. Both the rider's hands on the runner. To the right

4. Paris, Louvre D 3557 and D 3558, TC, H. 12.2 and 11.7. 3rd century.

Bibl.: S. Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romains. IV. Époques hellénistique et romaine. Italie Méridionale-Sicile-Sardaigne*, Paris 1986, 49, pl. 39f and d.

5. Berlin 3570, TC, South Italy, H. 15 cm.

Bibl.: Winter, 136, type 7a.

6. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 904, TC, Corinth?, H. 22 cm (authenticity doubted).

Bibl.: V. Poulsen, *Catalogue de terres cuites grecques et romaines* (Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, 2). Copenhague 1949, 28f., no. 48, pl. 30; Winter, 136, type 4b.

Type IIa. One of the rider's hands on the runner, the other arm folded. To the left

7. Munich SL 127, TC, Boeotia, H. 26 cm (heads not belonging).

Bibl.: J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb I*. München 1916, 25f., pl. 35; Eckstein, 82, fig. 8.

8. Berlin 6840, TC, Boeotia, H. 17.3 cm, early Hellenistic.

Bibl.: E. Rohde, *Griechische Terrakotten* (Monumenta artis

- antiqueae, 4), Tübingen 1968, 46f., fig. 31; Winter, 136, type 1a.
9. Louvre D 159, TC, Tanagra, H. 22.5 cm, 300–250.
Bibl.: R. Higgins, *Tanagra and the figurines*, Princeton (N.J.) 1986, no. 176, 144–146; S. Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romains. III. Époques hellénistique et romaine. Grèce et Asie Mineure*, Paris 1971–72, 30, pl. 36b; L. Heuzey, ‘Recherches sur un groupe de Praxitèle d’après les figurines de terre cuite’, *GBA* 1875, 197; Winter, 136, type 1d.
10. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum V 2832, TC, Boeotia, H. 13.4 cm.
Bibl.: K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen im V.K. Österreichischen Museum. Katalog und historische Einleitung*, Wien 1892, 87, no. 802; K. Gschwantler & W. Oberleitner, *Götter – Heroen – Menschen. Antikes Leben im Spiegel der Kunst*, Wien 1974, 100, no. 332; Winter, 136, type 1e.
11. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 393, TC, Boeotia, H. 21.6 cm, 4th–3rd century.
Bibl.: *Grieken in het klein. 100 antieke terracotta's* (ed. R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer), Amsterdam 1986, 52, no. 39.
12. Once Lecuyer collection, TC, Tanagra?, H. 16 cm.
Bibl.: A. Cartault in *Collection Camille Lecuyer. Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882 (Groupes reproduisant l'attitude de l'encotyle. Terres cuites trouvées à Tanagra); Winter, 136, type 1h.
13. Once Castellani collection, Tanagra?, H. 17 cm.
Bibl.: W. Fröhner, *Catalogue des objets d'art antique, du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance dépendent de la succession Alessandro Castellani*, Paris 1884, 85, no. 646, pl. 11; Winter, 136, type 1i.
14. Paris, Louvre D 301, TC, Corinth, 34 cm, 150–100.
Bibl.: Besques (supra No. 9), 54, pl. 62c; Heuzey (supra No. 9), 199; Winter, 136, type 1b.
15. Athens, National Museum 1731, TC, H. 12 cm.
Bibl.: unpublished? Exhibited at the National Museum of Athens; Winter, 136, type 1c?
16. Boston MFA 03.894, TC, Corinth, late 4th or early 3rd century.
Bibl.: *Greek, Etruscan & Roman art. The Classical collections of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1963, 143 and 145, fig. 140; G.S. Merker in *The coroplast's art. Greek terracottas of the Hellenistic world* (ed. J.P. Uhlenbrock), New York 1990, 128f., no. 20.
17. Heidelberg, Archäol. Institut TK 33, TC, H. 13.2 cm.
Bibl.: Eckstein, 82, n. 40, fig. 6.
18. Viterbo, TC, found in Lucus Feroniae, H. 21 cm, 3rd century.
Bibl.: *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria Meridionale*, Roma 1975, 147, no. 143, pl. 32.
19. Basle, Antikenmuseum 1921.485, TC, H. 17 cm, late 4th century.
Bibl.: Eckstein, 82, n. 40, fig. 7.
20. Market, TC, H. 20.7 (21.5 with plinth), early 3rd century.
Bibl.: *Ancient life in miniature. An exhibition of Classical*

- terracottas from private collections in England, Birmingham & London* 1968, no. 120, pl. 34; *Terrakotten der Antike. Antike Gemmen* (Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, Sonderliste 5), Basel 1980, 12, no. 39, ill. on p. 35.
21. Once Lecuyer collection, from Tanagra, H. 12.5 cm.
Bibl.: *Collection* (supra No. 12); Winter, 136, type 1n.
22. London, British Museum C 93, TC, from Benghazi, H. 12.8 cm, 300–250.
Bibl.: H.B. Walter, *Catalogue of terracottas in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities*, London 1903, 269, no. C 719; Winter, 136, no. 1o. A photocopy of a photograph was made available to me by Dr. L. Burns.

Type IIb. One of the rider's hands on the runner, the other folded. To the right

23. Paris, Louvre?, TC, c. 150.
Bibl.: Mingazzini (infra n. 10), 87, fig. 4.

Type IIIa. One of the rider's hands on the runner, the other free. To the left

24. Rome, Musei Capitolini, marble group, found in Rome, Piazza Dante, Pres. H. 120 cm, 150–100.
Bibl.: Eckstein, pls. 48–52.
25. Athenian Agora S 429, marble fragment, found in the Athenian Agora, attributed to the Hephaisteion, Pres. H. 65 cm, c. 420.
Bibl.: H. Thomson, ‘The pedimental sculpture of the Hephaisteion’, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 235f., 241–243 and 247–251, pls. 53–54; Ch. Scheffer, ‘Return or no return. The so-called *ephedrismos* group and the Hephaisteion’ (forthcoming).

Type IIIb. One of the rider's hands on the runner, the other free. To the right

26. Paris, Louvre D 3554, TC, from Tarent, H. 25.5, 200–150.
Bibl.: Besques (supra No. 4), 48, pl. 38; Winter, 136, type 6.

Type IVb. Both the rider's hands free. To the right

27. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1891, TC, Corinth, H. 43 cm, 300–250.
Bibl.: C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘Neuerwerbungen der Sammlung C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer im Haag’, *AA* 1922, 219f., figs. 13–14; J. Chesterman, *Classical terracotta figures*, New York 1974, fig. 57; *Grieken* (supra No. 11), 25f., no. 6; H.E. Frenkel, ‘Thermoluminescence test of a terracotta *ephedrismos*-group in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam’, *BABesch* 51, 1976, 96, fig. 13.
28. St. Petersburg, the Hermitage, once coll. Sabouroff, TC, Corinth, H. 26 cm, end of 4th century.
Bibl.: A. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff. Kunstdenkmäler aus Griechenland*, Berlin 1883, 87, pl. 81; *Die Eremitage. Frühgeschichtliche Kunst. Antike Kunst. Kunst des Orients. Numismatik*, Leipzig 1990, no. 69; Winter, 136, type 4c.
29. Berlin, Antiquarium 6917, TC, Megara, H. 34 cm (33 cm in Winter), Hellenistic.

Bibl.: J. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, München 1936, 28, fig. 71. Winter, 136, type 4a.

Type Vb. Both the rider's hands on the runner's eyes. To the right

30. Munich SL 129, TC, Boeotia, H. 10.5, early Hellenistic.

Bibl.: Sieveking (supra No. 7), fig. 37; Eckstein, n. 28 on p. 80, fig. 3.

Type VIa. Possibly both the rider's hands on the runner but sitting sideways. To the left

31. Paris, Louvre D 3555 och D 3556, TC, Capua, H. 11.7 cm, 3rd century.

Bibl.: Besques (supra No. 4), pl. 39a and c; Winter, 136, type 3.

Acknowledgements

Sincere thanks are due to the following persons: to the staff of the Medelhavsmuseet and especially to Drs. E. Rystedt and B. Alroth, who patiently listened to my worries about the authenticity of the group, to the conservator of sculpture of the National Museum, Stockholm, Mrs. E. Tebelius-Murén, who took the group apart more than once and also took the samples, to the Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and especially to Professor J. Riederer and Dr. Ch. Goedicke, who made the thermoluminescence tests (see infra n. 2). I further wish to thank the following persons who helped me with information, when I was trying to track down elusive groups of Winter's list: Drs. A. Bernhard-Walcher, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Dr. N. Bookidis, Corinth Excavations, Dr. L. Burns, British Museum, Dr. H. Gropengiesser, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, Dr. E. N. Khodza, the Hermitage, Dr. A. Picón, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and a person with an unfortunately illegible name at the Technisches Museum, Wien.

Abbreviations

Eckstein	F. Eckstein, 'Ephedrismos-gruppe im Konser-vatoren-Palast', <i>AntP</i> 6, 1967, 75–87.
Winter	I. Winter, <i>Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakot-ten II (Die antiken Terrakotten III:2)</i> , Berlin & Stuttgart 1903.

¹ ZAG 342, *Zorn och antiken. Grekiskt, romerskt och egyptiskt ur Anders Zorns samlingar* (Medelhavsmuseet, Skrifter 16), Stockholm 1991, 77. H. 15.5. Made from several moulds. One small ovoid vent hole in the back. Heads separately made

and attached. Ovoid base supporting the bigger girl. The smaller girl's right arm from above the elbow and right foot are missing as well as the bigger girl's left arm from above the elbow.

For references to *ephedrismos*, see infra ns. 4 and 10.

² Two samples were taken, both from the inside of the figurine. Sample I was taken behind the right arm of the bigger girl (brown fabric) and sample II slightly below the bigger girl's right collar bone. When tested, sample II yielded "an equivalent dose of approx. 10 gy which is consistent with the presumed age of the piece." Of sample I it is said: "The calculated equivalent dose of sample I is, however, much higher, but not geologic. As a result of restoration sample I may be composite of modern and unfired clay." From a letter of 17.09.1992 by Dr. Ch. Goedicke, Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

³ I have not been successful in finding close or even fairly close parallels to the girl. The style is rough and without refinement. The best parallels seem to be found among fairly early Boeotian figurines of the 4th or early 3rd century which show the same squat body shapes and simple, rather widely spaced pleating; cf., for instance, the dancers in A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin 1926, nos. 20–21, or a sitting boy, C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, *Aschmolean Museum. Greek terracottas*, Oxford 1981, no. 38.

The type of figure is equally difficult to establish. The girl would seem to have the stance of a dancer; dancers seem, however, most often to appear well hidden in a himation. The Zorn girl may be compared with a few figures found in Winter: 66, type 6 (stehende weibliche Figur), 141, type 8 (musizierende und tanzende Figur = Besques (supra No. 9), pl. 60b) and 154, type 7 (tanzende Figur). The hands of the first figure are missing and she may once have been a krotala player like the second one. All three are dressed in a garment which leaves the upper arms bare. Going by this scant evidence the Zorn girl may once have started her career as a musician and dancer.

⁴ F. Brommer in 'Huckepack', *GettyMusJ* 6–7, 1979, 139–144, classifies the different kinds of play usually identified by this term. He does not accept the groups of two girls or young women, the one carrying the other, as a proper *ephedrismos*, which requires a goal and blinding of the runner's eyes by the rider. I shall, however, continue to use the term for this manner of carrying another person, as it seems to be generally accepted, in spite of it being not quite adequate. See further n. 10.

⁵ A catalogue of the groups will be found at the end. See also Table 1. Only groups, of which enough information has been available, have been included. I have not been able to get hold of the publications (exhibition and auction catalogues etc.) of about a dozen groups mentioned in the literature, and I am well aware that quite a few others have most likely eluded my attention.

⁶ See supra abbreviations.

⁷ Dr. Gropengiesser in Heidelberg has kindly informed me

that the figurine Winter, 136, type 1g was probably sold by a descendant of one of the original owners in the early decades of this century. The figurine is briefly mentioned in *AA* 1883, 190, but only as an *ephedrismos* scene.

In the Hermitage, only the large and very fine figurine (No. 28) was mentioned by Dr. Khodza in answer to a letter of mine.

⁸ A further example of an *ephedrismos* group with the runner most probably moving to the right is the marble upper torso of a young woman found at Tegea, Ch. Dugas, J. Berchmans & M. Clemmensen, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV^e siècle*, Paris 1924, 124, no. 102, pl. 115c and d. The work is said to be fine, but it is considered too small (44 cm pres.) to have belonged to the temple. Probably 4th century. There are no traces of the rider but going by the other *ephedrismos* groups it should have been another female. Nevertheless this piece has been left out of the list at the end, as too many factors remain unknown. No movement is, of course, discernible, as the lower part of the body is missing, but it is obvious that the rider sat on the runner's left side from the onlooker's point of view. In no case does the runner bring forward the leg on the side where the rider sits; it would thus seem that the figure is moving to right from the onlooker's point of view.

⁹ The oldest and the youngest pieces are probably the two marble sculptures (Nos. 24 and 25). For the dating, see, for the Agora group, *The Athenian Agora. A guide to the excavations and the museum*, Athens 1990, 202f.; J. Boardman, *Greek sculpture. The Classical period*, London 1985, 146; J. Morgan, 'The sculpture of the Hephaisteion III', *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 95; Scheffer (supra No. 25). For the Capitoline group, Eckstein, 84–87.

¹⁰ Mainly Pollux IX.119 (*ephedrismos*) and 122 (*enkotyle*) and Hesychius, s.v. *ephedrismos*. See further *DarSag* 2:1, 636–638, s.v. *ephedrismos* (Reinach); *RE* V:2, 2747, s.v. *ephedrismos* (Jüthner); *EAA* III, 356f., s.v. *ephedrismos* (Stucchi). C. Robert, 'Griechische Kinderspiele auf Vasen', *AZ* 37, 1879, 78–84; P. Mingazzini, 'Tre giochi infantili antichi', *RendPont-Acc* 32, 1959, 87–92; P. Zazoff, 'Ephedrismos. Ein altgriechisches Kinderspiel', *AuA* 11, 1962, 35–42; M. Reho-Bumbalova, 'Eros e il gioco dell'ephedrismos su una lekythos di Sofia', *BABesch* 56, 1981, 153–158.

¹¹ Berlin 2417, *ARV* 1208, no. 35; *CVA Berlin* 3, pl. 145 (= Deutschland 22, pl. 1074). New York, Theoracopoulos coll., *ARV* 1215, centre, no. 2; D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Ancient art from New York private collections*, New York 1961, no. 233, pl. 89. It must be pointed out that the Berlin oinochoe has been restored as an *enkotyle* variant of carrying, for which there is no evidence. The rider most probably had one leg on either side of the runner.

¹² O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique* II, Paris 1884, text to "Figurine de Tanagra. Collection de M. Camille Lecuyer", 7.

¹³ Thompson (supra No. 25), 248–250.

¹⁴ Bieber (supra No. 2), 138 with n. 24; *eadem*, 'Personifications of clouds', in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* (ed. G. Mylonas) I, Saint Louis (Miss.) 1951, 538 with further

references. Rayet (supra n. 12), 6f.

¹⁵ Mingazzini (supra n. 10), 90 and 92.

¹⁶ Heuzey (supra No. 9), 193–210. J. J. Pollitt, *The art of Greece 1400–31 B.C. Sources and documents*, Englewood Cliff (N. J.) 1965, 129, n. 9, translates it either "a woman spinning thread" or "bringing home". According to Pollitt the first meaning seems more likely.

¹⁷ Rayet (supra n. 11), 2–6; Cartault (supra No. 12).

¹⁸ E. P. Biardot, *Les terres cuites grecques funèbres*, Paris 1872, 340–342, pl. 22. According to Biardot, Demeter has raised her arm to "indiquer la force vitale des plantes et leur ascension progressive".

¹⁹ See further Scheffer (supra No. 25).

²⁰ Munich 2396, *ARV* 1468, no 139; *Veder greco. Le necropoli di Agrigento*, Roma 1988, 144f., no. 30; J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases. The classical period*, London 1989, fig. 413.

²¹ Merker (supra No. 16), 128, admits that the motif may have had a religious significance but will not exclude that it may also have been more of a genre motif.

²² Scheffer (supra No. 25).

²³ Merker (supra No. 16), 128, n. 5. For the cult in general, see N. Bookidis, 'Ritual dining in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Some questions', in *Sympotica. A symposium on the symposion* (ed. O. Murray), Oxford 1990, 86–94. The overwhelming number of terracotta figurines are female (p. 90f.). Implements of spinning and weaving also give evidence of the very female character of the cult.

²⁴ *Nuove scoperte* (supra No. 18), 110f., and A. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Roma 1918, 316, no. 11453 (there is no illustration, but it seems obvious from the description that it belongs to type IIa).

²⁵ Th. F. Scanlon, 'Virgineum gymnasium. Spartan females and early Greek athletics', in *The archaeology of the Olympics. The Olympics and others festivals in antiquity* (ed. W. J. Raschke), Madison (Wisc.) 1988, 185–216.

²⁶ Scanlon (supra n. 25), 186 and 197–202; C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque I. Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale* (Filologia e critica, 20), Roma 1977, 210–214 and 325f.; L. Kahil, 'Autour de l'Artemis attique', *AntK* 8, 1965, 20–33; *eadem*, 'L'Artemis de Brauron: rites et mystère', *AntK* 20, 1977, 86–98; *eadem*, 'Le "cratérisque" d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole', *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 253–263; *eadem*, 'Mythological repertoire of Brauron', in *Ancient Greek art and archaeology* (ed. W. G. Moon), Madison (Wisc.) 1983, 231–244; *eadem*, 'Le sanctuaire de Brauron et la religion grecque', *CRAI* 1988, 799–813; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in girls' transitions. Aspects of the Arkeia and age representation in Attic iconography*, Athens 1988, pls. 1–5. Pottery fragments with running girls have been found also at Athens and Munychia. For initiation rites as origin of contests for young people, see also H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes. Essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique* (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille), Lille 1939, 413–418 (note that the

priestess of Demeter Chamyne was the only woman allowed to participate at the Olympic games, p. 415), and A. Brelich, *Paides et parthenoi* (Incunabula graeca, 36), Roma 1969, 449–556.

²⁷ W. H. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1986 (1977), 143; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An archaeological commentary*, Madison (Wisc.) & London 1983, 42; H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen. Bilder auf klassischen Vasen* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, 19), Mainz am Rhein 1984, 97–100. For the ball playing area on the Acropolis, see Plutarchos, *Moralia* 839C. For ball game in general, see G. Schneider-Herrmann, ‘Der Ball bei den Westgriechen’, *BABesch* 46, 1971, 123–133 and B. Th. Philippaki, ‘Attikos taphos tes teleutaias triakontaetias tou Sou p. Ch. aionos’, *ArchEph* 1953–54 (pr. 1961), esp. 104 f., fig. 5.

²⁸ A possible counterpart among the boys might be the teams

of boys all carrying another boy supervised by a “trainer” and obviously not part of an ordinary ball game, which are found on some black-figure skyphoi from the early 5th century. For references, see Scheffer (supra No. 25), No. 2; *ABL*, 251, nos. 50, 52 and 54. A very clear example in *Choix de 30 vases attiques de Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* par A.-C. Brioul, Bruxelles 1989, 14 f. (ill.).

²⁹ For the types, see Winter 137, 4–7.

³⁰ At Olympia, the girls’ festival to Hera had a sort of counterpart in a festival to Dionysos; the race at Sparta was called the *Dionysiades*. Scranlon (supra n. 25), 200 f.; Calame (supra n. 26), 210–214, 325 f., and 241–246. Demeter and Dionysos shared the same buildings in some cases, D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, ‘Déméter, Coré et les moires sur les vases corinthiens’, *BCH* 94, 1970, 64, and are, of course, also found side by side in the Parthenon frieze.

Hellenistic Relief Bowls in Stockholm

Marianne Frisell

Six mouldmade relief bowls of Hellenistic times are at present being kept in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet), Stockholm. One bowl belongs to the Museum itself. Four bowls form part of a deposition of Greek pottery from the National Museum (Nationalmuseum). One bowl is on temporary loan from a private collection (M. A.). These bowls will be presented below, together with yet another one in a private collection (MPB).

Mouldmade ceramic bowls covered with lustrous alternatively matt glaze and provided with relief decoration¹ entered the Hellenistic Mediterranean world suddenly around 225 B.C. The small amount of tools needed – a mould, portable, new or even copied or borrowed, together with a set of stamps for the application – made fast markets for these new-fashioned bowls. Athenian potters are the supposed inventors, but cities like Corinth and Argos came soon after. Copying and export of the bowls to other parts of the Mediterranean world must have followed close after. Evidence in the form of fragments of relief bowls have been found in so disparate places as Pergamon, Antioch, Taurus, Hama, Labraunda, Delos and various sites in Italy.

Archaeological evidence from dated Attic contexts confirms the appearance of mouldmade relief bowls in around 225 B.C.² The various types of decoration associated with the bowls allow the inference that the chronological range of the Attic production is between the last quarter of the third century and the third quarter of the second century B.C. The manufacture of the four types of decoration definitely determined by archaeological research as the earliest begins in the last quarter of the third century, and of the latest decoration – the so called long-petals – around the middle of the second century. In the third quarter of the second century B.C. the moulded relief bowls were succeeded by the red *terra sigillata* of Arezzo and various places in

Gaul, which continued the same tradition.

Manufacture serially in large numbers, along with the speed of technical production, combined with economic sense of innovation and extraordinary feeling of decoration, produced a most successful and splendid industry of art in Hellenistic times.³ The production of the mouldmade relief bowls very likely was the result of a single act of invention.⁴ Conceivably, the bowls were brought forth by Athenians having had the opportunity to admire the beautiful bowls in silver or gold at festivals in Athens. The introduction of the bowl in Athens might have been inspired by the then notably friendly relations between Alexandria and Athens. An athletic festival, the Ptolemaia, was held in honour of the Egyptian king Ptolemy III, also entitled eponym of a Greek tribe, in Athens either 225/4 or 224/3. Splendid Alexandrian silver bowls, imported for the festival, were carried in a procession at that time.⁵ For the Athenians this clay follower of the magnificent gold and silver bowls rapidly became a popular standard wine cup.

The floral decoration of some of the earliest mould-made bowls confirms that metal bowls served as prototypes. Both the shape and size of the earlier bowls of metal and the bowls of clay are almost the same. Copying has to be assumed when almost identical relief patterns and parallel details of decoration are noted. The same decoration, e.g. of the overlapping lotus petals and rosette medallion on a silver bowl excavated in the Nile delta, is found on an early-made mouldmade bowl displayed in the National Museum at Athens. Another illustration of transferred pattern is a silver bowl from Ithaka decorated with acanthus leaves and pointed lotus petals – a common pattern on ceramic bowls from the Athenian Agora. Figured patterns on mouldmade bowls have no parallels of Hellenistic dates on metal bowls as yet.⁶

The enormous numbers of bowls and sherds in de-

posits, especially of finds around the turn of the century, caused great problems in treating the material. It was obvious that quite a new manner of style and a new real industry in clay had appeared. But bowls and sherds mixed in the different deposits confused and delayed classification. To isolate a stamp for a certain bowl or to attribute fragments to production centres was not possible. Systematizing fragments and bowls of the same shape, but confused as to provenience, chronology and decoration was then insuperable for many years. At last, in 1922, the French archaeologist F. Courby managed to define a general terminology of the different parts of the bowl as well as a rough outline of classification and chronology.⁷

The main distinction between the bowls was determined in geographically agreed Attic and Delian types, differentiating in clay, lustrous respectively matt glaze, in basic appearance of shape, profile of the bowl, turning of rim and various details of decoration. Courby's definitions are still maintainable, even as the conclusions have become still more definitive with the progress of research and analysing advances. From 1934 and onwards the division decidedly into Attic and Delian bowls was assured when the differences became definitively obvious. Place of manufacture, decoration, shape and clay, have been the fundamental criteria for this classification.⁸ The Attic bowls were mainly produced on the Greek mainland, while the Delian bowls are thought to have had Delos as transit harbour for bowls made in production centres further east.⁹ The division

into these two main groups was made primarily on the basis of the shape of the rim – the slightly flaring rim of the Attic bowl, the inturned rim of the Delian bowl. In addition to the type of rim there are other basic differences. The common parts of the two bowls are the medallion, a decoration on the bottom with e.g. a rosette; the calyx, the floral motif surrounding the medallion; the wall, the main decoration of the bowl often in registers separated by ridges, and the rim with a pattern of e.g. a guilloche.

Attic and related bowls

The Attic bowl is distinguished by a rather deep bottom and straight or slightly outturned lip. There are accepted variations of the shape, as e.g. a somewhat square profile, a more shallow body and a higher rim. The size is uniform – between 7.5 and 9 cm in height and 14–16 cm in diameter – but there are variations. The practice of scraped grooves around the bottom medallion and below the lip is less common in the later production around the second century. Further characteristics of the Athenian production are: the well known Attic hard, light reddish clay and the metallic/lustrous black glaze. Four types of decoration of Attic and related bowls¹⁰ have been confirmed for the first production of bowls: (1) pine-cone, (2) imbricate leaves, (3) floral and (4) figured patterns. Later, around the middle of the 2nd century, still another type of pattern: (5) net pat-



Cat. no. 1 (Private collection M. A.).



tern and a composition of long-petals, was added.¹¹

Since Athens is the inventor of the manufacture of mouldmade relief bowls the Attic bowls in our group are presented here first. Of the four bowls considered Attic or related, only one has all the established characteristics of Attic production.

1. Medelhavsmuseet, on loan from a private collector (M. A.)

Provenience: Not known.

Source: Acquired in 1985.

Dimensions: H. 7.7; Diam. opening 11.2.¹²

Condition: Distinct traces of attempts to touch up the whole bowl, particularly on outside of the rim. Traces of paint-brush on the rim and of newly applied reddish glaze on the lower part of the bowl. Calcination on the whole surface, outside as well as inside.

Technical features: Reddish yellow clay (5 YR 6/6).¹³ Red, originally black, glaze. The profile and the shape of the bowl are Attic, i.e. this bowl has a parabolic profile. The height of the bowl is unusually high for the diameter. The 3 cm high rim is straight, or somewhat concave.

Decoration: From bottom to rim.¹⁴ On the medallion is a rosette of eleven thick leaves with a central dot and surrounded by only one circle. Eleven leaves is a rather unusual number for a rosette. The wall has a decoration of nine spikes (H. 5). Above the spikes is a rim pattern of egg and dart, framed by three ridges above and one ridge below.

Comparanda: Rotroff, pl. 21, 120 and pl. 10, 59, with a decoration on the wall of spike plants, possibly the stems of the date palm, according to Rotroff.¹⁵

Comments: Most common of Attic floral decoration are acanthus leaves, large stylized fronds, lotus petals and tendrils or grapevines. On non-Attic bowls from Pergamon or Delos a combination of lotus petals and acanthus leaves is frequent.¹⁶ The date of production of our bowl may be c. 225–175 B.C.

2. Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM Ant 1290

Provenience: Not known.

Source: Acquired in 1887.

Dimensions: H. 8; Diam. opening 12.8 ; medallion 3.1.

Condition: Notches, above all, on inside of the bowl; a score on the inside; two deep damages on the outer wall. The metallic black glaze has brownish-red shades particularly on the lower part of the bowl; the red shades are considerably worn.

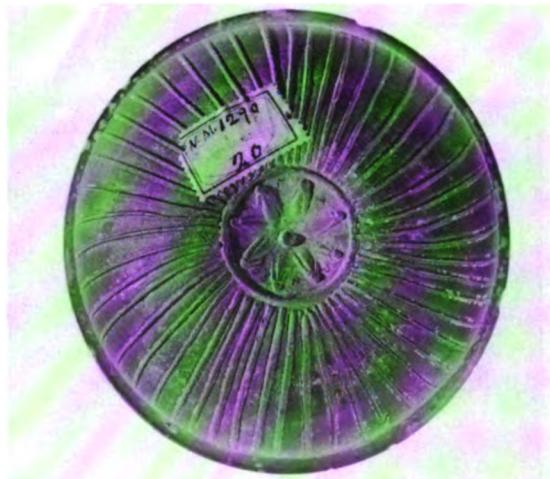
Technical features: Typical Attic bowl, rim (H. 2.3) with flaring lip. Pale reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). The metallic black glaze is red in part, especially on the lower part of the bowl; obvious wheelmarks are seen on the inside. The middle-point of the eight rosette leaves of the medallion is carelessly placed off center in the middle of the rosette. Between the medallion leaves the letters M E T A P O N are incised. On this particular bowl the letters are only incised, usually they were inscribed in relief.¹⁷

Decoration: The medallion has only one ridge around the eight-petaled rosette of pointed leaves with a small round lump on top of each petal. A pattern of straight long-petals (H. 7.0) covers the wall from the medallion up to the rim. Thin incised ridges on the upper part of the wall separate the upper parts of the long-petals from the rim.¹⁸

Comparanda: Rotroff, pl. 59, 327; Thompson, fig. 73, D 44.



Cat. no. 2 (NM Ant 1290).



Comments: The dimensions correspond to those generally seen in Attic bowls (height between 7.5 and 9; diameter of opening between 14 and 15). Variations are, however, quite common. The long-petal bowl pattern was the last type of decoration, introduced around the middle of the second century. This pattern, particularly, originated as imitation of the metal bowls. The long-petal motif is noted on metalwork already of the Archaic and Classical times and in the ribbed ceramics of the fourth century.¹⁹

3. Stockholm, private collection (MPB 110)

Provenience: Not known.

Source: Purchased in Stockholm in 1986.

Dimensions: H. 7.2 ; Diam. opening 13.7.

Condition: Small chips at the lip; the bowl worn in spots. The originally metallic black glaze was coloured red in firing. The glaze on one of the ridges around the medallion is scraped.

Technical features: Orange clay (7.5 YR 7/6); lustrous black glaze, burnt red or orange in areas. The rim is straight with slightly outturned lip. The separation between rim and wall is marked by three ridges. Wheelmarks are seen on the inside.

Decoration: The eight-petalled medallion is surrounded by two ridges. On the wall is a pattern of seven tall pointed central-nerved lotus alternating with seven club-shaped petals (or long-petals) with pronounced outline and with 14 floral tendrils in between. The rim is set off from the wall by three distinct ridges.

Comparandum: G. Siebert, *Recherches sur les ateliers de bols à reliefs du Péloponnèse à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1978, 364 and pl. 40, An. 10 (not classified bowl). This shallow bowl is about the size of our bowl – H. 6.5; Diam. opening 13.0 – with straight rim and flaring lip. The clay, glaze and shape are

parallel to those of our bowl. The decoration is different with lotus leaves alternating with straight leaves and floral tendrils, but the composition is the same.

Comments: The bowl mentioned is thought to be an imitation of an Attic bowl. Our bowl might also be an imitation.

4. Medelhavsmuseet, inv. no. MM SHM 17946:89

Provenience: Cyprus.

Source: Gift of H.R.H. Crownprince Gustaf Adolf 1926 to the Museum of National Antiquities, whence it was transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1957.

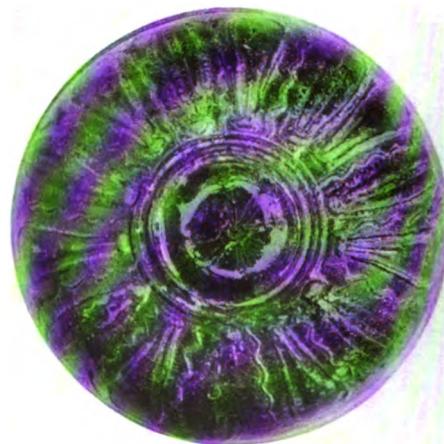
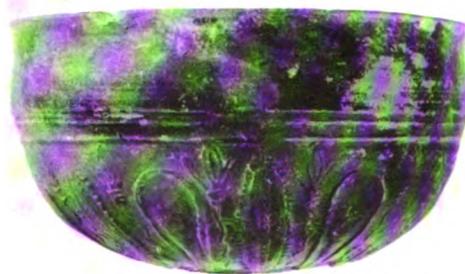
Dimensions: H. 7; Diam. opening 13; medallion 4.8.

Condition: Intact.

Technical features: Hard, orange-beige clay (5YR 7/6); lustrous black-brownish glaze on the lower part of the bowl, otherwise black. Rolled, outturned rim. Wheel traces on the inside.

Decoration: The wall pattern is divided in registers: 1st reg. between ridges: a pattern of olive leaves turned left in a row. Every other leaf is trefoil, every other has only two leaves with five points above and five points underneath every leaf. The 2nd reg. is spread over the lower part of the bowl with a pattern of alternating tendrils; short-stemmed composed volute flowers and nerved lotus. The medallion has no other pattern than three concentric circles.

Comparandum: I.R. Metzger, *Eretria, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen* 2, Bern 1969, 63, Taf. 23, 5a. It is not the same pattern as on our bowl, but still these small bits of flowers and leaves. Metzger supposes the bowl on Taf. 23, 5a to originate in Boeotia. The pattern of olive leaves generally appears on the Delian bowls, but the 2nd register may be referred to the Boeotian parallel bowl of Taf. 23, 5a: H. 7.8; D. 13.6; the clay



Cat. no. 3 (Private collection MPB 110).

has a beige-brown colour and the glaze is dark-orange-red with a pattern of thin lotus leaves alternating with central-nerved leaves. Between the leaves are spread flowers mixed with large and small leaves.

Comments: Pattern of olive leaves is never seen on Attic bowls and wall pattern in registers usually occurs only on Delian bowls. However, the Argivian workshop of Démétrios-Iason also used the horizontal registers on some bowls.²⁰

Our bowl might be produced in Boeotia around the late third century comparing with the Metzger sherd on Taf. 23, 5a.

Delian bowls

Inturned rim, matt glaze, rather shallow bowl, smaller height and diameter than the Attic bowl are the special characteristics of the Delian and other Eastern bowls. The diameter is usually only between 11 to 13 cm and the height not more than six to seven cm.

A remarkable predilection for floral decoration and also a particular liking for different motifs arranged in horizontal registers, divided in one to three, between raised lines or different linear patterns, is most usual for the Delian group. Typical patterns of decoration are e.g. olive leaves, imbricate leaves, cymation, egg and dart, nelumbos in different combinations and sometimes together with figures or scenes. Odd and unusual motifs such as hearts or lozenges, and moreover differently composed, are often found on the Eastern bowls. The following three bowls are distinguished by the

specifically Delian signature: rather shallow bowl, in-turned rim, matt glaze and pattern of horizontal registers on the wall. Because of the horizontal pattern in registers the decoration is described from top to bottom.

5. Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM Ant 1291

Provenience: Not known.

Source: Acquired in 1887.

Dimensions: H. 7.4; Diam. opening 12.5; medallion 4.0.

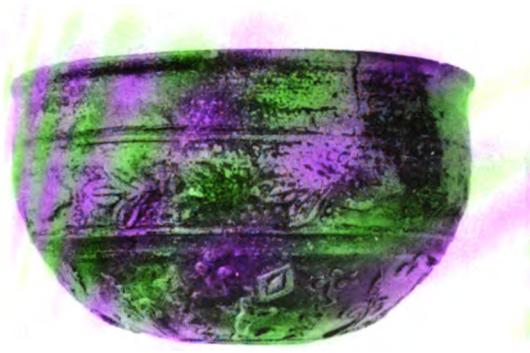
Condition: The black glaze is brown-coloured in part, worn and scraped a great deal particularly on the inside and on the rim; notches on the rim.

Technical features: Pink clay; lustrous brown-black glaze. Straight or slightly in-turned rim (H. 2.0). The pattern of the bowl is in uncommonly high relief. To be noted as sign of carelessness of manufacture: the pistilles of the olives of the 2nd register are missing at the beginning and at the end of the row.

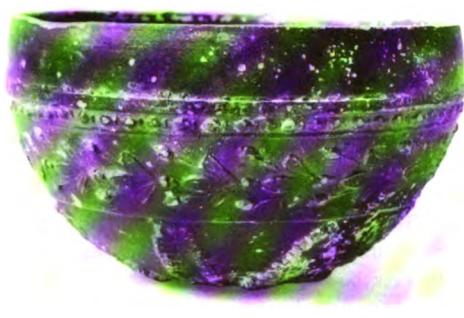
Decoration: Wall pattern in three registers: 1st reg.: dots in a row with one pearl ridge above and one ridge below. 2nd reg.: 19 olive leaves in a row turned left with two long pistilles sticking out from the outer leaves; 3rd reg.: four central-nerved acanthus leaves alternating with four central-nerved fronds. Medallion pattern: two circles around a rosette of eight double central-nerved leaves and without middle point.

Comparanda: Delos XXXI, pl. 28, 395, p. 123; pl. 29, 1735, p. 127; pl. 30, 376 (2nd reg. olives); pl. 46, 1716; 8914; pl. 49, 1875; pl. 92, 643+1892; *IstMitt* 23/24, 1973/1974, Taf. 53, 38.

Comments: The characteristic Delian pattern of three horizontal registers with the quite common motif of olive leaves in a row.



Cat. no. 4 (MM SHM 17946:89).



Cat. no. 5 (NM Ant 1291).

6. Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM Ant 396

Provenience: Not known.

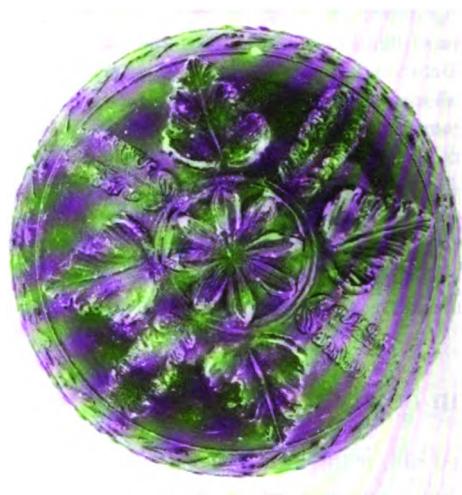
Source: Given 1881 by the English envoyé in Stockholm, Mr Edward Morris Erskine, who acquired the bowl in Athens.

Dimensions: H. 6; Diam. opening 13.2; medallion 4.2.

Condition: Small notches on the edge of the rim; otherwise intact.

Technical features: Reddish yellow clay; matt black glaze. Discernible break rim/wall from the inside. Wheelmarks on the inside.

Decoration: The pattern is in three registers: 1st reg.: egg and dart. 2nd reg.: nine times repeated pattern of Nike carriage to



the right: the winged Nike with whip in a carriage with four-spoked wheel; two horses. Visible of the horses are two heads, two front and two hind legs. 3rd reg.: four central-nerved lotus alternating with four acanthus with downfolded top. The registers are separated by ridges. Medallion: Two concentric circles around a rosette of six nerved double leaves.

Comparanda: Delos XXXI, pl. 37, 3133, 3136 (equipage); pl. 71, 9341 + 9342, (3rd reg. and medallion); also pl. 50, 400, 443 + 1714; p. 224 (the pattern described: 'grandes acanthes alternant avec lanceolées et fers de lance'); Courby, pl. 11c.

Comments: The repeated equipage-pattern is quite common on Delos bowls as is the pattern of acanthus with downfolded top.



Cat. no. 6 (NM Ant 396).





Cat. no. 7 (NM Ant 80).

7. Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM Ant 80

Provenience: Not known.

Source: Probably purchased by the King Gustaf III in 1784.
Gift of H.R.H. Prince Oscar Bernadotte in 1847.

Dimensions: H. 6.0; Diam. opening 11.8; medallion 4.0.

Condition: Poorly mended from many pieces; one remade piece inserted; improved painting here and there; calcified and worn black glaze.

Technical features: Reddish yellow clay. The inturned rim H.1.8. Discernible break rim/body. Wheel traces on the inside.

Decoration: 1 st reg.: horizontal spirals; 2nd reg.: standing spirals; 3rd reg: 31 long-petals of 4 cm length filled with side-

strokes inside the petals. Medallion: traces of concentric circles, but no other pattern visible.

Comparanda: Delos XXXI, 451, pl. 104, 4492; A.P. Christensen & C.S. Johansen, *Hama, Fouilles et recherches* III:2, Copenhagen 1971, 29, fig. 14, 125; Courby, fig. 76, 12.

Comments: Typical Delian marks. However, the pattern of standing spirals (S) and the side-strokes inside the petals are unusual details. The entire bowl is obscured by re-painting and calcification all over the surface.

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Abbreviations used other than those in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, 1991, 4–16.

Courby F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs* Paris 1992.

Delos XXXI A. Laumonier, *Délos XXXI. La céramique hellénistique à relief*. 1. *Ateliers "ioniens"*, Paris 1978.

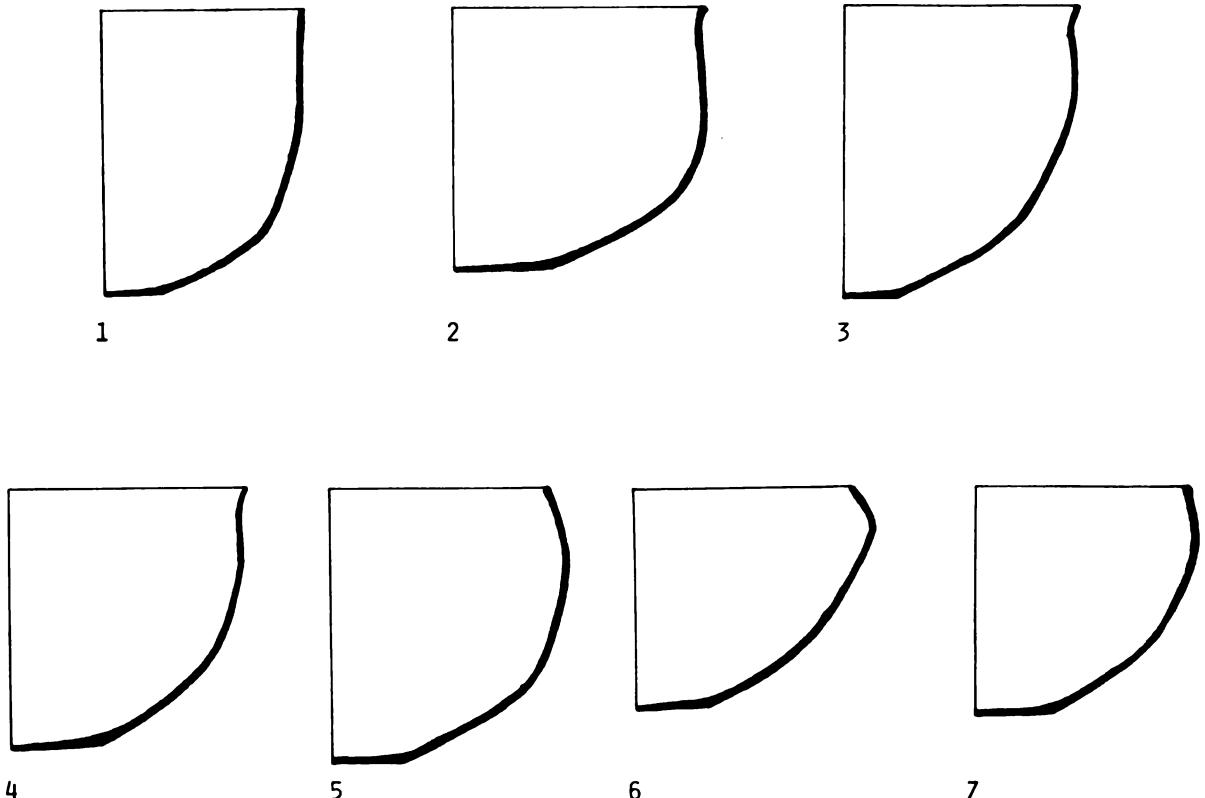
Rotroff S. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora XIII. Hellenistic pottery. Athenian and imported moldmade bowls*, Princeton, N. J. 1982.

Thompson H. A. Thompson, 'Two centuries of Hellenistic pottery', *Hesperia* 3, 1934, 311–476.

¹ The commonly applied characterization of a relief bowl is a bowl hemispherical in shape and without foot and handles.

² Thompson, 452; Rotroff, Appendix, 107–112, with revised chronology of Thompson's five groups A–E of different types of pottery in Agora of Athens (Thompson, 312). Renewed studies of coins and stamped amphora handles, found in Hellenistic deposits, give revised absolute dates. Further G.R. Edwards (*Corinth VII:3. Corinthian Hellenistic pottery*, Princeton, N. J. 1975, 151–153) gives a definition of the terms of classification within the limits of chronology in Corinth.

³ G. Siebert, 'Les bols à reliefs. Une industrie d'art de l'épo-



Profile drawings of cat. nos. 1–7 (M. Elliott). Scale c. 1:2.

que hellénistique' in *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines* (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, 36), Paris 1980, 55–83, concludes that the relief decoration is an industrial product without artistic value. Siebert illustrates by examples like paratactic standing flowers or figures, mythologic figures or scenes, repeated in a row around the wall; never a narrative story.

⁴ Thompson, 452, describes the process of manufacture of a mouldmade bowl: the moulds are bow-like in shape; soft clay was pressed into the mould. This was then centred on the wheel and spun so that the interior of the bowl and its rim were wheel-run. The negative impressions in the mould itself were produced either by shaping the mould on another vessel of metal or terracotta, or by pressing into its still soft clay stamps bearing the leaves, flowers etc. in any desired combination. Medallion and rim zones were delimited. Wheel-run grooves on the exterior of the mould gave the potter a grip when molding. The rest of the decoration was stamped with individual stamps. In Rotroff, 4f. is described how the application also could be drawn by hand when such details were needed.

⁵ Rotroff, 12. In an earlier procession in 279/8, part of a festival in Alexandria, were shown great numbers of gold and silver cups and bowls which could have been seen by Athenians, and given rise to clay imitations.

⁶ Rotroff, 6. Also U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher*, Stuttgart 1959, 19–21 and pl. 1, refers to the similarity between a mouldmade non Attic bowl in the National Museum of Athens and a silver bowl from a temple treasure found at Toukh-el-Garmous in Egypt and manufactured during the early Ptolemaic period. The potter had copied a rosette medallion and the wall decoration of overlapping central-nerved lotus petals.

⁷ Courby, 279f. The parts of the bowl were distinguished from the bottom: medallion, calyx, wall and rim. The isolation of four classes of types, later completed with another type, the long-petals, made way for a chronology.

⁸ Thompson, 451–460.

⁹ Delos XXXI, 3ff.

¹⁰ "Related" are Argivian, Corinthian or other mainland bowls.

¹¹ Thompson, 311–480. Some archaeologists advocate a more

general and elastic terminology for future classification, e.g.

Edwards (supra n. 2), 151.

¹² All measurements are in centimeters.

¹³ Indicating the norm of the colour of Attic clay. Most common of the Attic colours designated on the *Munsell Soil Color Chart* are 5YR6/4; 5YR6/6; 5YR7/4; 7.5YR6/4; 7.5YR7/4.

¹⁴ The decoration of Attic bowls is generally described from bottom to top, while the decoration of the Delian is described from top to bottom, dependent on the horizontal wall registers – from 1st to 3rd register.

¹⁵ Rotroff, figs. 51 and 58.

¹⁶ Thompson, 407f., no E 79, fig. 96a: a bowl, not Attic, decorated beautifully with graceful acanthus leaves alternating with big lotus leaves.

¹⁷ Rotroff, 40. Signatures on the bowls are mostly the name of the potter or the workshop. On earlier Athenian bowls signatures were uncommon. Long-petal bowls generally have the signature of the potter inscribed in a single petal from bottom to top; the letters METAPON might be a fake added at a

later date.

¹⁸ The long-petal motif recurs in metal as well as in clay. In 1973 L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford presented a Hellenistic silver relief bowl, decorated with a kind of long-petals, kept in the Royal Palace in Stockholm, and she assumed the date of the bowl to be the first part of the first century B.C. (*BA Besch* 48, 1973, 119–123). The silver bowl is of interest partly because of its decoration of four symmetric groups of long-petals, here called elongated leaves by van Ufford, alternating with four lotus leaves and tendrils with wine grapes in between. On account of this pattern and partly of the special disposition of decoration, van Ufford concludes that the Swedish silver bowl quite oddly might have borrowed details of a mouldmade relief bowl from Pergamon from about the end of the second century – hence, totally opposite the usual process in which a clay bowl usually has decoration imitating a metal one.

¹⁹ Rotroff, 34.

²⁰ Siebert (supra Cat. no. 3), 32 and pls. 13–18.

A Knidia Head

Johan Flemberg

The marble head published here (*Figs. 1–5*) belongs to a private owner in Malmö and was acquired in Turkey in the 1950s. No information as to its find place exists.¹

The material is a white, rather coarse-grained marble. The surface is slightly corroded all over but otherwise well preserved; no rootmarks are to be seen. Apart from the missing part of the head and the nose, only the right² ear and the mouth are damaged; the left side of the upper lip and the greater part of the lower lip are missing. The fracture at the crown of the head is smoothed and partly incised with shallow, parallel furrows. At the bottom of the neck there is a drilled hole, c. 1.3 cm wide and 9.5 cm deep. Smaller drill-holes (c. 2 mm wide and, at the most, 5 mm deep) occur along the edges of the anterior fillet (seven are preserved at the right side, ten at the left side), and in the left ear; the corresponding part of the right ear is missing. The strands of the hair are separated by long drill channels of varying depth. The pupils are indicated by *lunulae* and the irises by incised lines. Along the edges of the lower eyelids fine, incised lines are drawn. In the mouth the teeth are rendered in the usual way as a solid block.

Measurements:

Preserved height: c. 31 cm.

Face (parting of the hair to chin): 19 cm.

Width between ears: 15.7 cm.

Distance between inner corners of the eyes: 2.9 cm.

Ditto outer corners: 9.3 cm.

Width of right eye: 3.3 cm.

Ditto left eye: 3.4 cm.

Width of mouth: 4.6 cm.

A few asymmetries can be noted: the parting of the hair and the bulge of the forehead are slightly displaced to the left and the left eye is noticeably bigger than the right.

The head is clearly a replica of the famous Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles,³ of which at least fifty copies are known.⁴ It has the double fillet (properly speaking, a fillet twice wound around the head) that occurs on the majority of the replicas and the measurements agree with those of other copies.⁵ The little curl in front of the right ear occurs on at least four other replicas.⁶ An unusual feature of our head is the plastic rendering of the pupils and irises. Although it does occur in non-portrait sculpture,⁷ I know of no other Knidia head with this feature.

The degree of fidelity to the original is hard to judge, since no detailed analysis of all the known replicas has been made. The little curl at the right ear is, according to Blinkenberg, an addition by the copyists.⁸ The rendering of the mouth, with parted lips showing the upper row of teeth, occurs on at least four other replicas and could be copied from the original, according to Blinkenberg.⁹ The loops of the fillet diverge upwards, a feature common to some of the replicas.¹⁰ The hair corresponds rather closely to that of the Colonna statue in the Vatican,¹¹ but some differences may be noted: the undulating strands of hair, especially on the right side of the head, do not run as parallel to each other as on the Vatican and most of the other copies.¹² Above the right ear, for instance, the curves of two strands meet in such a way as to create two eye-shaped openings, instead of a furrow of more or less uniform width (*Fig. 2*). Such variations in the rendering of the hair are typical of Knidia heads.

The quality of the workmanship is good (although somewhat neglected at the back of the head, where the hair is cursorily rendered and the surface of the posterior fillet is uneven). The lines forming the eyebrows, for instance, are sharp and distinctly drawn and so is the shape of the eyes and the mouth. The upper eyelids are set off from the orbital area by deep, sharply cut fur-

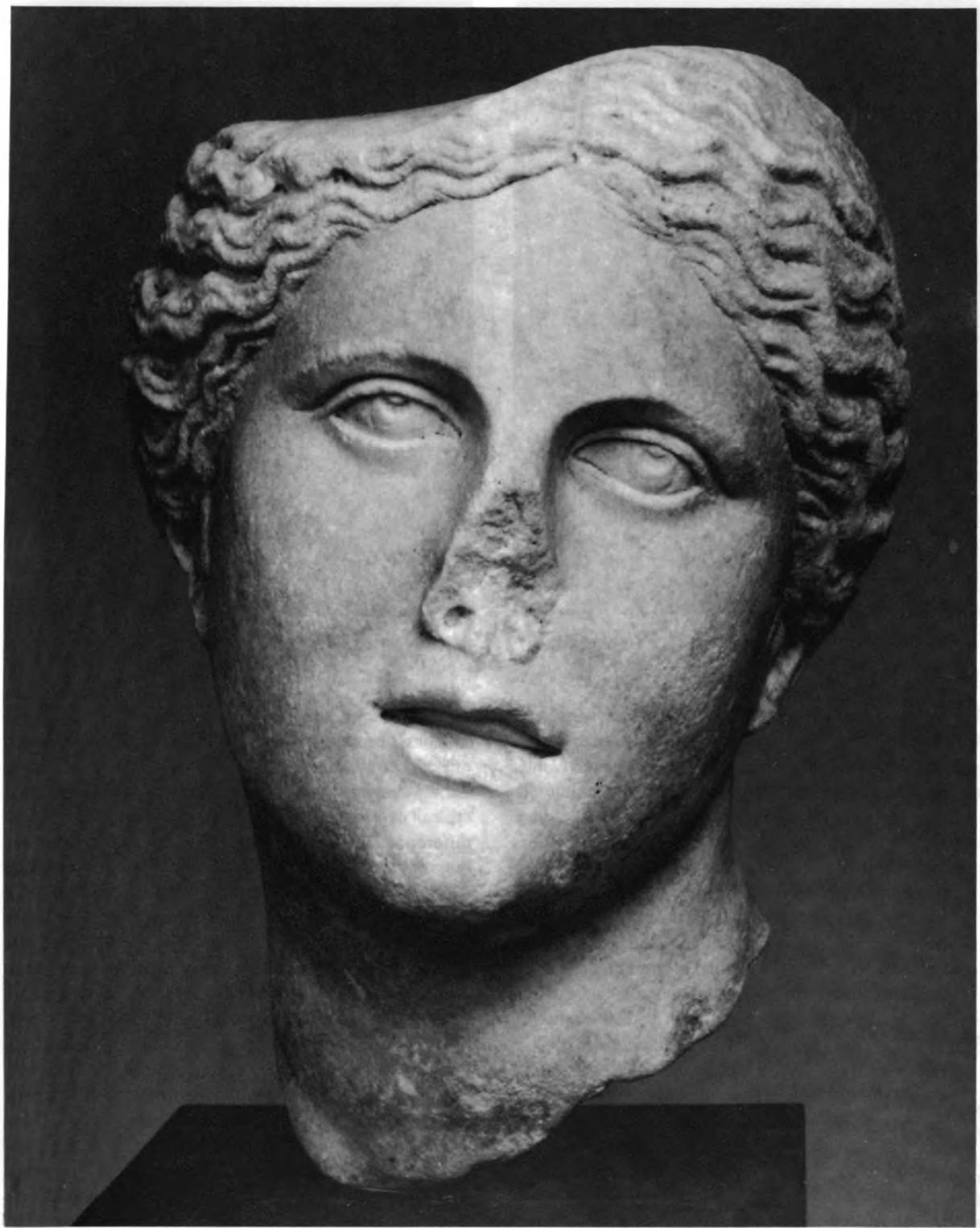
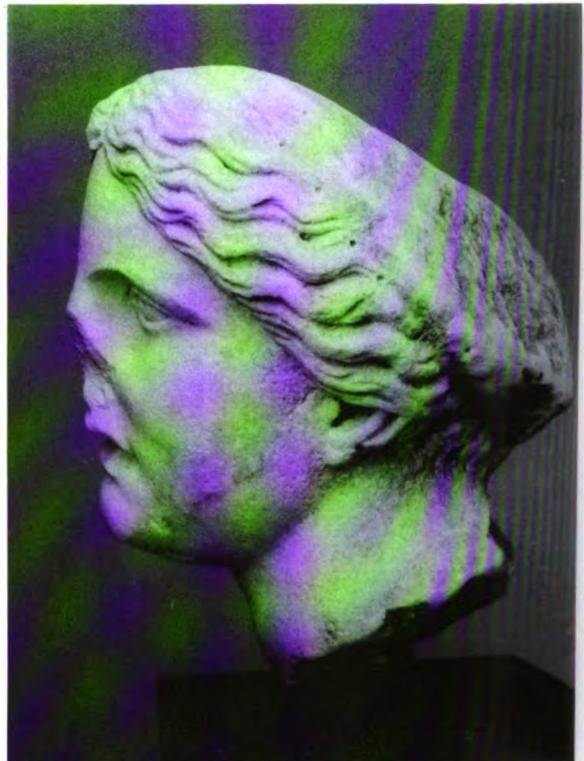
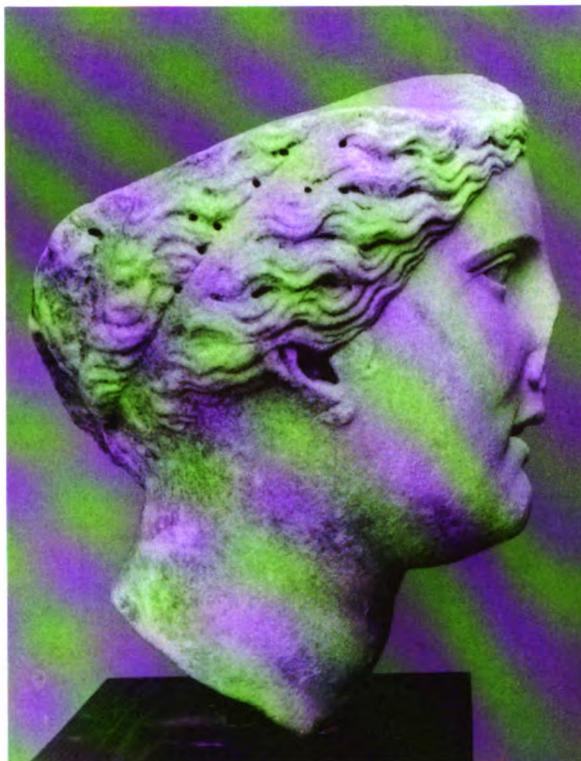


Fig. 1. Private collection, Malmö.



Figs. 2–3. Private collection, Malmö.

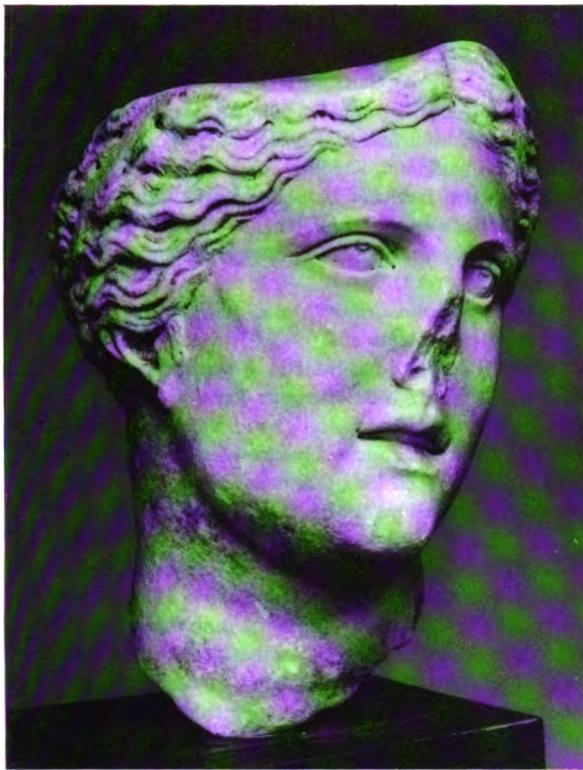
rows. The cheeks are enlivened by delicately rendered depressions starting from the wings of the nose, the tip of the chin is subtly indicated and the so-called Venus rings on the neck are softly modelled. In the hair the strands are clearly set apart, yet not monotonously rendered, as they are on some replicas. Another less common trait is the marked border between hair and forehead. The tendency of the sculptor for clearly delineated forms is also evidenced by the plastic rendering of the pupils. But it is difficult to say if the last-mentioned trait was an advantage or not, in the absence of the original colouring. As is well known, the glance was one of the things most admired in Praxiteles' statue.

For the dating of the copy the treatment of the hair and the eyes is the best guide. The plastic rendering of the pupils does not seem to be attested before the time of Hadrian.¹³ The treatment of the hair would seem to be compatible with a late Hadrianic dating,¹⁴ but is perhaps more typical of the Antonine era. The "dissolving" of the hair by short, deep drill channels is typical of Antonine portraits¹⁵ and the same phenomenon occurs on copies of Classical and Hellenistic origi-

nals, although the difference of hairstyle between portraits and representations of deities makes comparison difficult.¹⁶ Thus the absence on our head of deep, kidney-shaped drill channels, which are considered typical of the Antonine period, may be due to this difference. Instead a similar impression is created by the short, deep sections of the drill channels. Similar drill channels can be seen on the portrait of Faustina the Younger from Kandilli near Bozhöyük.¹⁷ An Early to Middle Antonine dating (c. 138–180 AD) of the Knidia head would seem to be indicated by these parallels, although the possibility of local variations must be borne in mind.¹⁸

The curl in front of the right ear (Fig. 2), ending in a loop with a drilled centre, has a certain resemblance to that of a head from Aphrodisias,¹⁹ but if this shape is typical of the sculpture of this city, I do not know.²⁰

The shape of the pupils is peculiar. The rather oblong, pointed *lunulae* resemble true crescents, whereas usually the *lunulae* are more or less bean-shaped, with more rounded ends. Pupils similar to those of our head occur on some of the statues of the so-called Esquiline



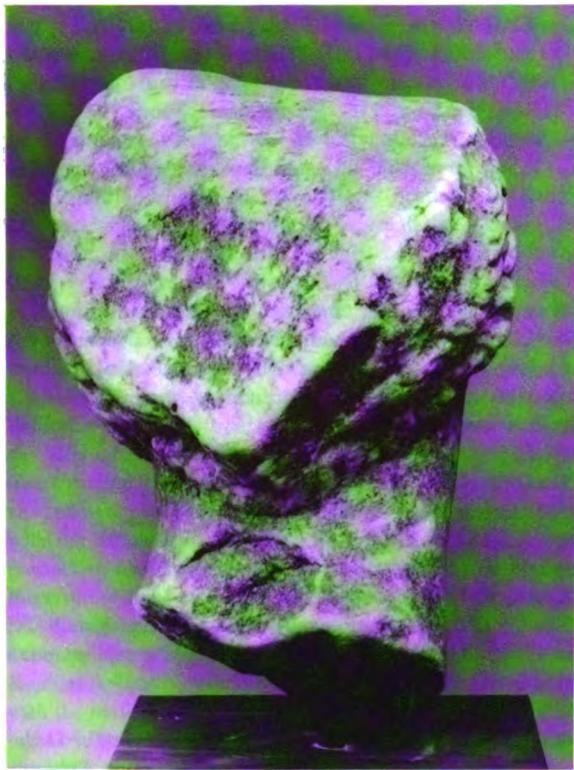
Figs. 4–5. Private collection, Malmö.

group in Copenhagen, which was made by sculptors from Aphrodisias,²¹ and on a portrait head from that city.²² But, on the other hand, portraits from Greece,²³ Lycia²⁴ and Italy²⁵ have similar pupils and many heads found in Aphrodisias show the more normal kind of pupil.

Aphrodisias and Pisidian Antioch²⁶ are just two possible places of origin and, lacking first-hand knowledge of the sculpture of Asia Minor, I will not speculate further on the provenance of the head.

The holes along the edges of the fillet are difficult to explain and no other Knidia head with such drill holes is known to me. The attachment of metal ornaments in the hair occurs in Archaic and Classical²⁷ as well as in late Hellenistic sculpture²⁸ but is, to my knowledge, rather uncommon in Imperial times.²⁹ The small depth of the holes of the Knidia head makes it unlikely that they could have been used for fastening metal leaves (or rays).³⁰ More probably, then, they were used for the attachment of some other small adornments, probably of metal.

To conclude, this head is a Roman copy of good



quality of the Knidian Aphrodite and one of the few of full size found in Asia Minor.³¹ The date is about AD 150. It seems to be unique in having plastically rendered pupils and in having been equipped with an additional adornment in the hair.

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Apart from the abbreviations of *AJA* 95, 1991, 4–16, the following are used:

Blinkenberg, *Knidia*

C. Blinkenberg, *Knidia. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der praxitelischen Aphrodite*, Copenhagen 1933.

Inan & Rosenbaum

J. Inan & E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor*, London 1966.

Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum	J. Inan & E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, <i>Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde</i> , Mainz 1979.
Wegner, Hadrian	M. Wegner, <i>Hadrian. Plotina, Marciana, Matidia, Sabina</i> (Das römische Herrscherbild, 2:3), Berlin 1956.

¹ It was bought from the famous collector Hans von Aulock in 1959; he, in his turn, had bought it in Turkey, but claimed not to know where it came from. The late Prof. Erik Sjöqvist reportedly supposed the find place to be Aphrodisias, but it is not known on what grounds.

² By "right" and "left" I mean the proper right and left.

³ See Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, esp. 74–99. For the *Knidia* generally, see also A. Delivorrias, in *LIMC* II:1 (1984), 49–52.

⁴ Blinkenberg lists 50 copies. To these is to be added the copy from Villa Adriana. Other marble replicas, such as *Corinth IX*, nos. 39–41, are of smaller size.

⁵ See the table of measurements in Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 74; the mean value of the height of the face of the replicas there listed is 19.5 cm.

⁶ Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 82f.

⁷ E.g. on some Dionysos heads: M. Aurenhammer, *Die Skulpturen von Ephesos. Idealplastik I* (Forschungen in Ephesos, 10:1), Wien 1990, no. 41, pl. 29b (Selçuk museum, no. 769); ibid., no. 44, pl. 30b (Izmir museum, 672); ibid., no. 46, pl. 32; S. Schröder, *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollon Lykeios. Studien zur Bildformulierung und Bildbedeutung in späthellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (*Archaeologica*, 77), Roma 1989, no. AA 5, pl. 29 (Syracuse, Mus. arch. regionale, no. 11032); other examples: Apollo (?) head from Aphrodisias, *Fasti* 24–25, 1969–70, pl. 28a; Apollo head from Perge, E. & I. Özgen (eds.), *Antalya Museum*, Ankara 1988, no. 93; Eros, Aurenhammer, no. 64, pl. 45; Ganymede, ibid., no. 103, pl. 72c–d; bearded god, ibid., no. 115, pl. 81a; so-called Aspasia, A. Aziz, *Guide du Musée de Smyrne*, Istanbul 1933, no. 535, p. 61; Ephesian Artemis from Ephesos, *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. Artemis Ephesia, no. 74; Asklepios head from Gerasa in Amman, *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. Asklepios, no. 352; colossal satyre head from Aphrodisias, *EAA* suppl. (1970), fig. 16; Doryphoros in New York, art market, D. Kreikenbom, *Bildwerke nach Polyklet. Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach polykletischen Vorbildern. 'Diskophoros', Hermes, Doryphoros, Herakles, Diadumenos*, Berlin 1990, pl. 207; personification of a province from the temple of the deified Hadrian, Helbig⁴ II, no. 1437, Inv. 765; Athena, G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 1937, no. 41, no. 84; Graces, ibid., no. 284; Muse, ibid., no. 326; sphinx from Side, J. Inan, *Roman sculpture in Side*, Ankara 1975, no. 63, pl. 43 (dated by Inan in the 3rd century AD because of the eyes). A colossal head of a goddess, perhaps Aphrodite, in

Istanbul has plastically rendered pupils, although not of the *lunula* shape, V. M. Strocka, 'Aphroditekopf in Brescia', *Jdl* 82, 1967, 147, fig. 43; dated by Strocka in the late 4th century AD. See also G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, München 1923, 92f.

⁸ Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 82f. B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen, 2)*, München 1979, 337, n. 7, however, suggests that it may have been rendered by painting in the original.

⁹ Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 78 with n. 1.

¹⁰ Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 80f.

¹¹ Inv.no. 812; Helbig⁴ I, no. 207; Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, figs. 17 and 23; T. Kraus, *Die Aphrodite von Knidos* (Opus nobile, 10), Bremen 1957, figs. 3–4.

¹² Cf. Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, figs. 18, 24 and 63.

¹³ M. Fuchs, *Jdl* 99, 1984, 250, mentions several late Flavian examples of carved pupils, but these are apparently not of the *lunula* shape.

¹⁴ Cf. Wegner, *Hadrian*, 110, pls. 27–28 (late Hadrianic); 129, pl. 46 (Sabina); A. Carandini, *Vibia Sabina. Funzione politica, iconografia e il problema del classicismo adrianeo*, Firenze 1969, 189–191, figs. 235–236; another Sabina head in Rome, ibid., 191f., figs. 239–240; Wegner, *Hadrian*, 128; the Athenian cosmete Onasos, dated in the period 129–138 AD. E. Lattanzi, *I ritratti dei cosmeti nel Museo Nazionale di Atene*, Rome 1968, 39f., pl. 7 (esp. the beard).

¹⁵ Cf. M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Das römische Herrscherbild, 2:4), Berlin 1939, pl. 3 (Antoninus Pius), pl. 13b (Faustina the Elder); Inan & Rosenbaum, pl. 28 (Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger); Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum, no. 51, pl. 45 (Sabina, Early Antonine); cf. ibid., no. 311, pl. 221 (priestess, Late Antonine). As Fuchs notes (supra n. 13), 249f., this phenomenon occurs already in Flavian monuments, but none of her examples seems to be from Asia Minor.

¹⁶ V. Kruse-Berdoldt, *Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den Porträts des Epikur, Metrodor und Hermach*, Göttingen 1975, 56 compares the Hadrian portrait in the Vatican (Wegner, *Hadrian*, pls. 27–28) to a Metrodorus head in Aranjuez (M 4; G. M. A. Richter, *The portraits of the Greeks* 2, London 1965, fig. 1243) and notes (68) the "unquiet" impression of the hair of the Metrodorus portrait M 15 (Richter, figs. 1240–1241), which she dates in the Early Antonine time. Cf. ibid. p. 72 concerning M 19 (Richter, figs. 1227–1229), pp. 88, 89f., 109 (M 4, M 15).

¹⁷ Inan & Rosenbaum, no. 46, pls. 28–29. Cf. the Marcus Aurelius head from the same site, no. 45, pls. 28–29, and the portrait of Cornelia Antonia, no. 287, pl. 163, found in Yalvaç. These portraits are tentatively ascribed to sculptors from Pisidian Antioch (ibid., 299).

¹⁸ Cf. Fuchs (supra n. 13), 248f. and the head from the Portico of Tiberius in Aphrodisias, C. Roueché & K. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias papers. Recent work on architecture and sculpture* ... (JRA Suppl. 1), Ann Arbor 1990, p. 25, fig. 24., on which

the drill channels in the hair, although broader, are rather similar to those of the Knidia head. The date of this head is, however, not expressly given in the text.

¹⁹ Museum of Geyre, no. 66–270, Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum, no. 182, pl. 135:2; *Boreas* 6, 1983, pl. 19:2. The curls, of which the left one is more similar to that of the Knidia head, are called “corkscrew locks” by the authors. Two other Aphrodisian heads show similar curls, K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. City of Venus Aphrodite*, London 1986, figs. on pp. 87 and 97 (below).

²⁰ Cf. Wegner, *Hadrian*, pl. 46b (head of Sabina, found in Italy, with a similar curl).

²¹ No. 524 (Poseidon) and no. 522 (Zeus); no. 525 (Helios) has differently shaped pupils, but still with pointed ends. The group is usually dated in the 2nd century, but recently a 4th century date has been proposed, see C. Roueché & K. Erim, *BSR* 50, 1982, 102–115, and N. Hannestad, in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 516f.

²² K. Erim, *AJA* 71, 1967, 238, pl. 70:17 (dated in the 3rd century).

²³ A. Stavridis, *RM* 92, 1985, p. 340, pl. 142 (from Luku in Arcadia, Hadrianic). A. Datsuli-Stavridis, *AAA* 13, 1980, 340–342, figs. 39–41 (from Athens, Middle Antonine). Cf. J. Ch. Balty, ‘Le préteur Marc-Aurèle d’Avenches’, in *Eikones. Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis* (FS H. Jucker), Bern 1980 (AntK-BH, 12), 57–63, esp. 62 f., pl. 19:3 (Paris, Louvre MA 3625, from Greece or the Orient, third to fourth c. AD).

²⁴ Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum, pl. 56 (bronze head of Septimius Severus, from Bubon).

²⁵ E.g. A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense*, Città del Vaticano 1957, no. 59, pl. 37 (female portrait from Ostia, dated in the Antonine period); no. 98, pl. 58 (male portrait of the tetrarchic period).

²⁶ See supra n. 17.

²⁷ E.g. the head of Prokne from the Acropolis, H. Knell, *AntP* 17, 1978, pl. 9; three head fragments from the Acropolis, E. Berger, *AM* 71, 1956, 153–172, pls. 7–12.

²⁸ A head of a statuette, probably representing Aphrodite, found in Samos, has big holes along the upper edge of the

fillet, R. Horn, *Hellenistische Bildwerke auf Samos (Samos XII)*, Bonn 1972, no. 74, pl. 53. The head of Meleager type from the heroön at Kalydon has holes along the upper edge of the fillet, P. C. Bol, *AntP* 19, 1988, 37f., pl. 27; cf. ibid., 41, pl. 32. A portrait head from Rhodes, tentatively identified as Caesar, has a double row of rather big holes in the hair, *ClRh* V:1, 1951, 63–67, fig. 37. The Blacas head in the British Museum had no less than c. 150 holes, set in three rows, B. S. Ashmole, *BSA* 46, 1951, 2–6, pl. 3; it is usually dated in the fourth century, but see A. Borbein, ‘Zum ‘Asklepios Blacas’’, in *Kanon. Festschrift Ernst Berger zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Februar 1988 gewidmet* (AntK-BH, 15), Basel 1988, 211–217, esp. 214f., who argues for a late Hellenistic date.

²⁹ Cf. the fragmentary head *AvP* 7:1, no. 110, fig. on p. 127; the recently found left part is published by P. Brize in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses* (supra n. 21), 593f., pl. 92. This late Hellenistic head was, according to Brize, re-worked in early Imperial times and at the same time equipped with the drill-holes for the attachment of a metal ornament, probably a wreath. These drill-holes, however, are bigger than those of our head.

³⁰ Although the crowning of statues was a common practice in antiquity, the addition of a metal wreath to a copy of the Knidian Aphrodite would involve a considerable interference with the motif (preparation for the bath). But considering the lapse of about 500 years between the original creation and the copy, this is perhaps not impossible.

³¹ Cf. supra n. 4. In fact the only other example from Asia Minor known to me is the torso no. 86 in the museum of Selçuk, which is listed by H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturen-ausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, Berlin 1981, no. 195, as a Knidia. But according to A. Bammer, R. Fleischer & D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos*, Wien 1974, 24, the torso was originally fitted into a lower part that was draped. They suggest that the statue represented either Aphrodite holding up her garment with one hand (cf. *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. Aphrodite, no. 688) or a nymph with a shell. The first alternative seems more likely, since the left shoulder is slightly raised. Since the shape of the torso as a whole (and the size) seems to be close to that of the Knidia, we could have to do with an adaptation of the Knidia.

Swedish Classical Archaeology 1992

A Bibliography

Below is presented the usual list of recently published books and papers. They represent the last year's output in the field of Classical archaeology by Swedish scholars and by foreign scholars working in Sweden or at Swedish institutions or projects. The titles were collected by Dr. Paavo Roos.

The bibliographical abbreviations are those recommended for use in the *Opuscula Atheniensia* and *Opuscula Romana* (cf. above, p. 2).

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Activities 1991–1992

Lars-Olof Sjöberg

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) continued its activities during the year 1991–1992 on about the same scale as in the previous years despite unfavourable economic circumstances. The period was characterized by extensive exhibition activities. A new permanent exhibition was opened for the Islamic collection. Also two large and two small temporary exhibitions were set up. Editorial work was extensive, resulting in four published volumes.

The director of the Graeco-Roman Department, Dr. Pontus Hellström, was appointed professor of classical archaeology and ancient history at the University of Uppsala from the first of May, 1992. Dr. Eva Rystedt was appointed as his successor from the 15th of September, 1992.

During the year, the Egyptian collections were augmented by the acquisition of a terracotta sculpture from the period of the Roman Empire depicting Harpocrates riding on a goose. The costs of this acquisition were defrayed by a donation from the Oscar, Matilda and Gottfrid Mattsson Foundation. The Graeco-Roman collections were enriched by a donation of four vases from Etruria. Both collections were complemented by a loan of nine sculptures, eight from the Malmö Museum and one from a private collection in Malmö. To the Islamic collections were added a pestle and a pair of bellows. Both are made of wood with metal embellishments and are examples of traditional Arabic art. They were presented as a gift to the Museum in connection with a visit in February 1992 to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, by the members of the Museum staff who had been in charge of the exhibition "Treasures from the Orient".

A photographic as well as a painted reproduction of the inscription on the base of Trajan's Column in Rome, both in full scale, were long-term deposited in

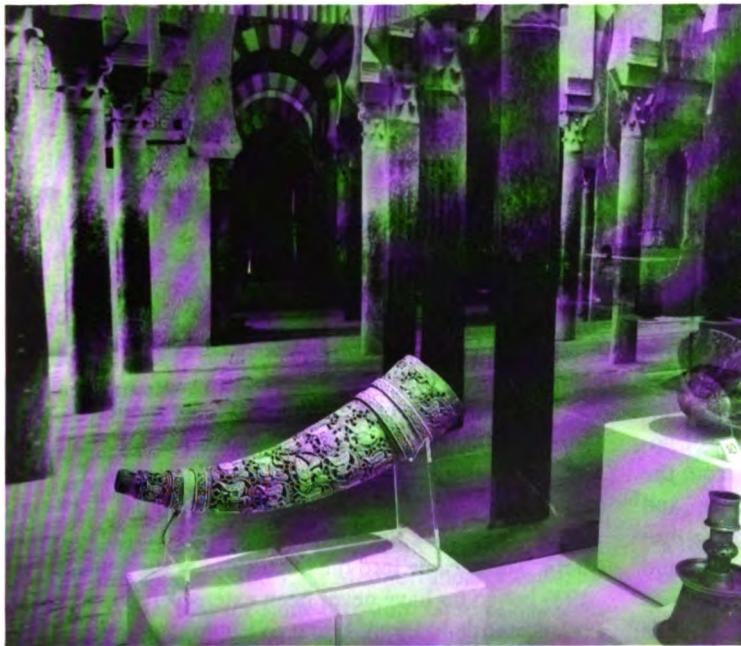
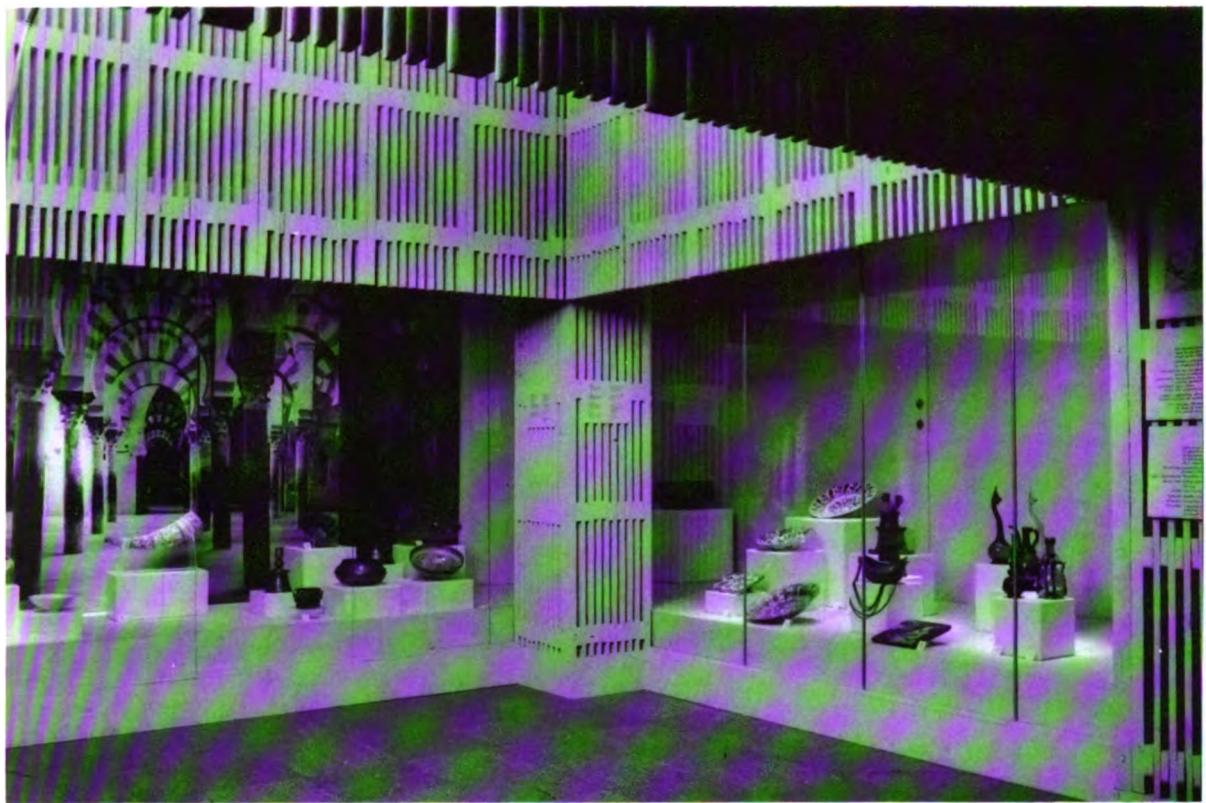
the Museum by their owner. They have been hung in the lecture hall.

The new exhibition of Islamic art was opened in September 1991. It is assembled in two rooms. The inner room, designed by Eric Sörling, contains a permanent, chronological and thematic exhibition from the first centuries of Islam up to the 19th century. The exhibition incorporates material from India to Morocco. In the outer room, primarily rugs, miniatures and calligraphy are on display, but there are also exhibits from the ceramic, glass and textile collections. The exhibition in the outer room is designed so as it may be temporarily dismounted, at need, in order to leave room for other exhibitions.

In the autumn of 1991 the Egyptian exhibition was enlarged by the addition of a new room arranged to represent on general lines the interior of an Egyptian tomb from the period of the New Kingdom. The installation was based on material previously kept in storage.

Following the purchase of selected parts of Carl Kempe's collection of gold jewellery, the "Gold Room" of the Graeco-Roman permanent exhibition has been rearranged and reopened.

During the year, four temporary exhibitions were arranged in the Museum. The exhibition "Zorn and the Ancient World" was on display in the salon on the second floor between the 31st of October 1991 and the end of March 1992. It comprised of more than 400 of the 600 items collected by the Swedish painter Anders Zorn and now part of the Zorn Collections at Mora. The booklet published for the occasion contains two essays by Dr. Hans Henrik Brummer, the director of the Stockholm art museum Prince Eugene's Walde-marsudde, and Dr. Eva Rystedt, plus a catalogue of 48 items composed by Museum officials as well as teachers and students from Stockholm, Uppsala and Lund uni-



View into the inner room of the new Islamic exhibition. Below, a vessel of ivory (olifant) from Sicily, 10–11 th century A.D. (inv. SHM 289).



View of the temporary exhibition "Zorn and the Ancient World".

versities. Hand in hand with this publication work went a re-study of the whole body of Greek, Roman and Egyptian material in the Zorn Collections. With this type of scholarly work, the Museum fulfils the aim of the central and specialized museums to attend to related material in other collections in Sweden.

The other large temporary exhibition, "Temples of Cork", was the Museum's contribution to the "Gustavian Year" (in honour of king Gustavus III). It was opened on the 10th of June 1992 in the central hall of the Museum and continued until the 11th of October. The core of the exhibition consisted of models of ancient temples and other buildings, all on loan from the National Museum, Stockholm. Made of cork and manufactured during the late 18th century, these models were in high demand by European aristocrats and kings wishing to commemorate their grand tours to Italy and its ancient ruins. Six of the eight cork models

shown in the exhibition, all by the famous model builder Giovanni Altieri, were purchased by Gustavus III in Italy during his visit there in 1783–1784. The exhibition also included reference material of various kinds borrowed from other museums, primarily the National Museum. The booklet published in connection with the exhibition contains essays by Dr. Valentin Kockel of the University of Munich and Mr. Magnus Olausson of the National Museum. It also includes a catalogue of the cork models by Dr. Kockel.

The two minor exhibitions contained modern drawings and photos with motifs taken from Egypt and Turkey/Syria. One, entitled "Drawings from Egypt" (September 1991–March 1992), showed the drawings made in 1921 by the Swedish architect Ferdinand Boberg. These came into the possession of the Museum in 1939 but so far have never been extensively shown. The other, entitled "From Ararat to Euphrates" (May–June

1992), was a presentation of about 30 photographs taken by the author Göran Börge during his travels in Turkey and northern Syria. It bore the same title as his newly published book.

The Egyptian Department continued the scientific documentation of its collections. In the spring of 1992, Dr. Ingegerd Lindblad participated in the EDOC project, which aims at developing and testing a system for the computerized registration of artifacts involving both visual and verbal information.

Within the Graeco-Roman Department, the work of computerized registration of the collections continued during the autumn of 1991. Because of a shortage of personnel, this work, which started as a result of an initiative taken by the National Audit Bureau, was temporarily suspended during the spring of 1992. Moreover, the so-called Comparative Collection of Graeco-Roman antiquities was inventoried, as well as the Békésy Collection, which includes Egyptian as well as Greek, Roman and Western Asiatic items.

As for the Cypriote collections, we reported in the previous yearbook on the removal of the objects kept in a storeroom in Linnégatan. Proposals have been submitted on the relocation of the material which is now stored in the partially unsuitable storerooms on Karlavägen.

An inventory of the material in the Islamic collections has been made. Details about the items, including photographs, are to be made available on filing cards. This information is also to be computerized, so that a data base for the Islamic collections in the Museum can be set up.

The catalogue of swords and daggers from Luristan (Iran) put together by Curator Pat Marino-Hultman has now been transferred to the computer and incorporated into the archives of the Museum. The material in question takes a prominent position in the Western Asian collection of the Museum.

In Bulletin vol. 26–27 of the Medelhavsmuseet (1991–1992; a double issue) Ingegerd Lindblad published an article on two canopic jars from the Egyptian collections. She also wrote about eleven unpublished Egyptian objects for the catalogue issued in connection with the exhibition "Zorn and the Ancient World".

At a congress on Cypriote archaeology held at the University of Gothenburg in August 1991, Eva Rystedt held a lecture entitled "Mycenaean Pictorial Vases: Individual Painters and East Mediterranean Chronology and Trade". At the same occasion, Gloria Ikosi from Cyprus, a guest researcher at the Museum, presented

the results of her studies of the Cypriote terracotta material housed in the Museum. The title of her lecture was "The Terracotta Workshop of Aghia Irini: Techniques and Clays". Curator Suzanne Unge Sörling and Curator Marie-Louise Winbladh contributed articles to the catalogue issued for the Zorn exhibition. Marie-Louise Winbladh also prepared a catalogue of the terracotta finds from Chania in Crete, which is due to be published within the framework of the publication of the Chania excavations.

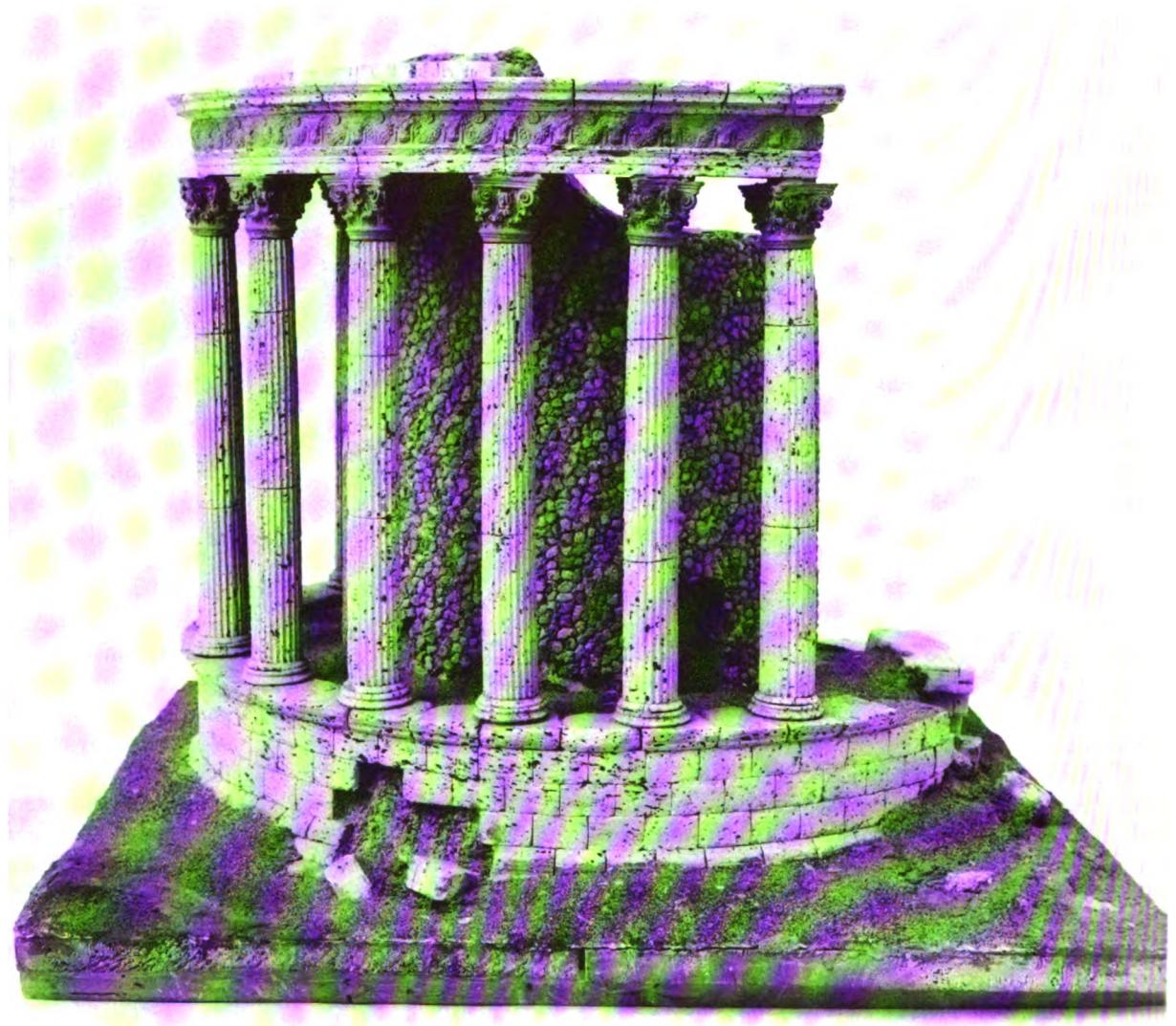
The work of conducting groups and tours during the past year has been as extensive as previously. Around 550 hours were spent with school classes and about 50 hours with other groups. Over 200 tours highlighting different themes were arranged for the general public on weekends. In all, about 800 hours were spent on tours for about 750 different groups and school classes. Special efforts have been made this year to intensify the contacts with teachers, in order to stimulate a dialogue on how the Museum can contribute to school education more effectively.

During the spring of 1992 the Museum tried out a new pedagogical programme. Göran Hemberg gave a dramatic representation of the Odyssey for high schools within the greater Stockholm area. It took the form of a one-man show using Mr. Hemberg's own text in hexameter and prose. The performance, which was preceded by a tour of the Greek exhibitions, was presented on more than twenty occasions. Before the first performance school teachers and others were invited to two one-day conferences at the Museum including lectures by Mr. Hemberg on "Homer, an intermediary of culture through locution" and "Homer dictates".

"The Enchanted Prince", an ancient Egyptian story of the New Kingdom, was also performed in a drama version in the Museum (a weekend in May 1992). Third grade pupils (ten year olds!) from a Stockholm school acted out the story in the central hall.

During the Stockholm Water Festival in August 1991 a classical opera was given for the first time in the central hall of the Museum. Gluck's "Orpheus and Eurydice" was performed eight times to a full house.

Several lectures, single or serial, were arranged at the Museum. Ancient Egypt was the theme of a series of lectures given by Ingegerd Lindblad in the autumn of 1991 and repeated in the spring of 1992. Both series were fully booked. Other series of lectures, held by members of staff or by guest lecturers, comprised "Slavery in the Ancient World" and "Anders Zorn and Other Collectors of Classical Antiquities". In associ-



Cork model from the late 18th century by Giovanni Altieri representing the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli (inv. NM Drh Sk 263). The model formed part of the temporary exhibition “Temples of Cork”.

ation with the Societies of the Friends of the Swedish Institutes in Rome and Athens, two one-day symposia were organized, one on St. Birgitta (Bridget) of Sweden and the other on the gods of the ancient world. The series "Evenings at the Medelhavsmuseet" was held in collaboration with Folkuniversitetet (The University Extension Organization).

During the year the Museum continued its recital programme by hosting a number of concerts, in part performed by students from the Stockholm College of Music.

Scholars from Swedish universities and academic institutions and museums abroad have, as usual, visited the Museum and the contacts through correspondence with other museums and private collections in Europe and the U. S. A. have been extensive. Through Dr. Karin Ådahl the Museum conducts an international project within UNESCO's Participation Programme. This project, which aims at making an inventory of Islamic art collections in the world, completed its first stage during the year. Having been commissioned by the management committee for the project, two American scholars, Barbara Schmitz and Sunil Sharma, completed a questionnaire serving the inventory in the U.S.A. Altogether about 500 replies have been received and will now be edited for publication. The purpose of the project is the setting up of a data base to increase accessibility to information about these collections. The data processing of the replies which have been received will now begin. In connection with this project, discussions have been held with the King Feisal Foundation in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, with the aim of establishing a mutual agreement of cooperation between the Museum and the Foundation on this enterprise.

About 250 scholars and students used the library during the report period. In addition to the books received through the Vitterhetsakademien's library, 280 volumes were added by way of exchanges, gifts and purchases. Donators included Australia's ambassador to Sweden, Dr. Robert Merrillees, the National Library in Tripoli, Libya (through the intermediation of Suzanne Unge Sörling) and the Society of Friends of the Swedish Institute in Rome.

A double volume of the Bulletin (26–27, 1991–1992) was prepared during the report year; it was published in August 1992, the costs of printing being defrayed by the Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrå-

det and the Society of the Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet. Volume 8 of the Memoir series, a monograph entitled "Nitovikla Reconsidered" by Dr. Gunnel Hult, was also published, with the aid of a grant from Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet. In the Skrifter series no less than two volumes appeared: number 16, "Zorn and the Ancient World", and 17, "Temples of Cork" (cf. above). Marie-Louise Winbladh is preparing an introduction to ancient Cyprus and to the Cypriote collections at the Museum, as number 18 of the same series. Eva Rystedt was responsible for the editorial work connected with all but the last-named of these volumes. She was assisted by information secretary Stefan Hilding.

A number of excavations are economically administered by the Medelhavsmuseet. Professor Pontus Hellström began a new campaign in September 1991 at Labraunda. Work continued on the excavation projects Asine and Chania in Greece and Carthage in Tunisia. Museum-director Carl-Gustaf Styrenius is the supervisor of these three projects. The scientific processing of the material from these excavations has now been intensified. Another volume on Asine is now ready for printing and the first volume on Chania is expected to be published during 1993.

The service which the Museum provides to scholars and university students has already been touched upon. Attention should also be called to the extensive service to others such as teachers and students in the school system, the media (publishers, newspapers and periodicals, radio and television, etc) and the general public. The work of studying antiquities brought to the Museum for expert analysis by their private owners has increased during the last few years, more than one hundred objects being examined annually. Such service provided to the general public forms an essential part of the duties assumed by the Museum in terms of external activities.

In September 1991 the Society of the Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet celebrated its 25th anniversary. Among the invited were the surviving original founders of the Society. Three were able to attend, viz. Professor Gösta Säflund, Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh and Director Olof Söderström. In the presence of the 165 guests assembled in the Museum Professor Paul Åström, Gothenburg, gave an inspired lecture on the theme "We all carry the Mediterranean within us".

Contents

- Ein Frauensarg des frühen Mittleren Reiches**
Beate George 3
- Kythrea Temenos. Unpublished Material from
the Swedish Cyprus Expedition**
Gloria Ikosi 11
- Un Olpe del Pittore della Sfinge Barbuta**
Charlotte Johansson 82
- Girls Playing? Notes on a Fake *Ephedrismos* Group
in the Zorn Collections in Mora (Sweden)**
Charlotte Scheffer 91
- Hellenistic Relief Bowls in Stockholm**
Marianne Frisell 103
- A Knidia Head**
Johan Flemberg 112
- Swedish Classical Archaeology 1992**
A Bibliography 118
- Activities 1991–1992**
Lars-Olof Sjöberg 124

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